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Karadzic Changes Course, Agrees to Peace Plan

AU1201184093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report by Milovan Denda from Geneva]

[Excerpts] The latest news from the Palace of Nations in Geneva, which will disprove the reports today that the negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina have failed, is that Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], has conditionally accepted the constitutional provisions on the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We say conditionally, because Karadzic's agreement has to be approved by the Serbian Republic Assembly within seven days at the latest.

After Karadzic rejected the new version of the nine points offered by cochairmen Vance and Owen in the morning, the turning point of the Geneva talks came about late in the afternoon after a two-hour meeting Vance and Owen held with Presidents Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic. The meeting was joined later by Karadzic. After the meeting, the Yugoslav delegation issued the following statement:

Proceeding from the interests of the Serbian people for a peaceful solution to the crisis on Bosnia-Herzegovina, at the insistence of the Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, based primarily on the fact that the proposed principles guarantee full equality to the Serbian people, as well as the consensus of the three peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, in their unanimous view, fully protects the equal rights and interests of the Serbian people in the process of political negotiations about the general settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic, decided to agree with the proposed constitutional principles, provided that the Assembly of the Serbian Republic approves them within seven days at the latest.

This was outlined in a statement by the Yugoslav delegation issued after the talks which Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic held with Vance and Owen. [passage omitted]

About one hour ago, Cosic, Miloevic, and Bulatovic met Croatian President Franjo Tudjman here in the Palace of Nations in Geneva at his initiative. They agreed that talks on further normalization of Serbian and Croatian relations should begin, in economic matters above all.

During their next meeting they will, above all, discuss peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and further normalization of Serbian and Croatian relations.

Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic are returning home tonight. Apart from the lively media activities, a dramatic negotiating day is slowly drawing to an end here in the Palace of Nations in Geneva.

Yugoslav Delegation Issues Statement

LD1201190293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav delegation to the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace talks in Geneva issued the following statement tonight:

Based on the Serbian people's interest in a peaceful solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis; at the insistence of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic; and finding an explanation in the fact that the proposed principles guarantee the Serbian people full equality and guarantee the full consensus of the three peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina—something that, in their unanimous view, entirely protects the equal rights and interests of the Serbian people in the process of political negotiations on the comprehensive resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], has decided to consent to the proposed constitutional principles with the proviso that the assembly of the Serbian republic verifies this consent within seven days.

Karadzic Makes Statement

LD1201234593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, made a special statement for SRNA in Geneva this evening, saying that the statehood and the constituent nature [konstitutivnost] of the Serb people are contained in the nine principles of the future constitutional system of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic stated that no document has yet been signed but that consent has been given so that negotiations within the framework of the Geneva conference can continue.

"In a way, we again won their consent for this decision to be presented to the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], and this represents a striking recognition of the Assembly, the Serb Republic, i.e. the democratic institutions of our state," Karadzic said. He added that a session of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic will be convened within seven days, when the conditionally accepted document will be presented to deputies.

SRNA reported that the president of the Serb Republic stressed that this move is completely justifiable, especially in view of the fact that it was supported by Presidents Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic, i.e. the whole of Yugoslavia, both the Serbian and Montenegrin leaderships.

"It is very important that Presidents Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic insisted that we accept it. However, for us,

our Assembly's opinion is the most important, and we are not going to do anything that the Assembly has not approved. Therefore, we considered and mentioned a possibility of all three presidents, Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic, giving their arguments and assurances that we did a good job, and of one of them perhaps attending the Assembly session," Karadzic said.

In conclusion, Karadzic stressed that, after constitutional principles have been adopted, the Geneva process will continue. "The situation in the world will develop in another direction, take another course, and our deputies will have a chance to take into consideration all options and to determine some guidelines for future negotiations. We do not want to accept any kind of ultimatum," the president of the Serb Republic told SRNA.

Constitutional Principles Outlined

LD1201235293 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2310 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, January 12 (TANJUG) - Cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen in their new proposal listing nine constitutional principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina took into consideration the demand by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be defined in its constitution as a state of three constituent peoples (Moslems, Serbs and Croats).

Karadzic on Tuesday [12 January] evening at talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina mediated by Vance and Owen accepted in principle the new constitutional principle proposal, but under a proviso that he can place his signature under them only when the parliament of the (Bosnian) Serb Republic voted on them.

The altered constitutional principle proposal states that "Bosnia-Herzegovina shall be a decentralized state, with most of the state functions carried out by its provinces," and that the "three constituent peoples will be constitutionally recognized."

However, the provinces will not be able to conclude agreements with foreign states or international organizations—one of the Bosnian Serbs' demands was international legitimacy for the provinces.

One of the principles is that full freedom of movement shall be allowed throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, to be ensured in part by the maintenance of internationally controlled thoroughways.

Under the Vance-Owen proposal, all matters of vital concern to any of the constituent peoples shall be regulated in the constitutional agreement, which shall be adopted only by consensus of the three constituent peoples. Ordinary government business is not vetoable by any group.

Under the proposal, the provinces and the central government shall have democratically elected legislatures and democratically chosen chief executives and an independent judiciary.

The presidency would be composed of three elected representatives from each of the three constituent peoples, and the initial elections would be UN/EC/CSCE supervised.

Principle Six calls for a constitutional court, with a member from each constituent people, to resolve disputes between the central government and any province, and among organs of the former. The majority would be "non-Bosnian members, initially appointed by the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia."

A progressive demilitarization of Bosnia-Herzegovina under UN/EC supervision is also envisaged.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina constitution should also provide for the highest level of internationally recognized human rights, as well as for the ensurance of implementation through both domestic and international mechanisms.

The last point calls for implementation of certain number of international control and supervision principles that would be in force until the three constituent peoples reached consensus on the need for those mechanisms to be disbanded.

Cochairs Express Renewed Optimism

LD1301000993 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2338 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—Cochairmen of the conference on Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen have assessed as a step in the right direction the acceptance by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic at the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina of the revised proposal for constitutional principles of a future Bosnia-Herzegovina, spokesman for Vance and Owen Fred Eckhard said here on Tuesday [12 January] evening.

Eckhard said the talks would soon resume in the same composition if the Bosnian Serb Republic's parliament accepted the principles.

He added that the influence of the three presidents from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could be expected to have a positive result.

Karadzic on Tuesday afternoon accepted in principle the list of constitutional proposals proposed by Vance and Owen, with a proviso that the Bosnian Serb Assembly would have seven days to approve them.

The delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said on Tuesday afternoon that Karadzic had reached his decision at the insistence of President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic and the presidents of its two republics Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, who in their

thinking proceeded from the interest the Serb people had in a peaceful solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Eckhard said the revised list did not feature any fundamental changes, but simply merged points one and four.

Stressing that delineation of the map would now become a new battleground for debate, albeit less intense than that on constitutional principles, Eckhard said the easiest task would be the conclusion of a peace agreement, which he said had a 95-per-cent chance of being accepted.

Eckhard said the joint presence of Cosic, Milosevic and Bulatovic had been instrumental in bringing about the compromise.

Asked if the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be lifted after the "intervention" by Milosevic in Geneva, Eckhard said the question was premature, as the E.C. and U.N. would after being informed about today's talks by Vance and Owen continue to follow further developments.

Asked why Karadzic had after everything accepted what amounted to a "cosmetic alteration" of the constitutional principles, Eckhard said he believed that the Bosnian Serb leader had seen in it a desire by the co-chairmen for a compromise to be reached.

Eckhard also assessed as constructive talks Cosic held in Geneva with president of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman.

Noting that the two presidents had discussed practical steps in the normalization of the two countries' relations, Eckhard said this could be followed by their mutual recognition. Cosic's statement that he intends to travel to Croatia is proof that a normalization is in sight, he added.

Cosic and Tudjman are acting as mediators in the Geneva talks which assemble the military and political leaders of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina—its Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

Milosevic and Bulatovic joined Cosic in the second round of the talks, which began on January 10.

Cosic, Milosevic Satisfied

LD1201224193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2204
GMT 12 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—After much uncertainty during the day, the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina ended on Tuesday [12 January] evening with a successful turnabout and open relief of all Yugoslav participants, when Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic accepted in principle the Vance-Owen constitutional principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Upon leaving the Palais des Nations in Geneva, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic, evidently well pleased, told journalists: "You can be sure that we will soon restore peace. We will soon go to Bosnia-Herzegovina and (the former Yugoslav Republic of) Croatia."

President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic told the press: "I told you I was an optimist," and added: "I must say that we have made very important steps towards peace."

"I firmly believe that, in the future, the Geneva conference will be as successful as the conclusion of this round of talks," Milosevic said.

Karadzic, who has accepted to once again put before the parliament of the Serb Republic the constitutional principles for the future order of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said there was still a good chance of the peace being secured.

Asked to comment on his decision to accept the constitution, after he had rejected it in the morning, Karadzic said that the "provinces have broad autonomy."

Asked about his concept of a state within a state, Karadzic said it could be said that there would be "many states within the state in Bosnia-Herzegovina".

The proposed nine principles are better than the ten offered previously, Karadzic said, adding: "This is the compromise we promised you."

Karadzic said that the map and peace accord for Bosnia, proposed by cochairmen of the Geneva-based conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, could not be accepted without the restoration of a lasting peace.

The Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina were attended by the military and political leaders of the three warring sides in that former Yugoslav republic—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—and the Yugoslav and Croatian presidents as mediators.

A statement released by the Yugoslav delegation said that Karadzic had taken the decision "at the insistence of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Presidents Milosevic of Serbia and Bulatovic of Montenegro, who proceeded from the interest of the Serb people for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The first round of talks started on January 2 and lasted three days. During the second round of talks, which opened on January 10, Milosevic and Bulatovic joined the Yugoslav delegation.

Milosevic Assesses Talks

AU1201224693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in
Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Jan 93

["Special interview" with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Geneva on 12 January—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] At the end of this strenuous day, after a series of meetings which the Yugoslav delegation and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic had with, above all, cochairmen Vance and Owen, as well as a series of consultations with other members of our delegation, let us hear what the assessment is and what this strenuous day was like.

[Milosevic] I think that the entire process can be described as a major step forward, as a major step toward peace, which all of us on the territory of Yugoslavia need so much. We had a series of meetings with Cyrus Vance and David Owen yesterday and today. We clarified numerous questions that were insufficiently defined in the sense of consistent respect for the principles for which we strove right from the beginning, namely the principle of equal respect of the interests of all three constituent peoples.

I hope that you have noticed that the document adopted by the conference today experienced a significant change, because the first principle, which defines these nine rather than the earlier 10 points of the Geneva conference, affirms the existence of three constituent peoples. The principles also affirm a consensus regarding the settlement of the entire crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I would like to remind our citizens that even before the hostilities broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Serbia had a very clear position. At that time we said that we would respect and support every agreement reached in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the principle of tripartite consensus. This is the only real basis for a just and lasting peace. One cannot talk about a lasting peace at all if it is not just.

Unfortunately, this was followed by the unilateral acts which involved abandonment of this principle, when the partial [krnj] referendum held without the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized. Later, we saw the premature recognition of this essentially illegal decision and state. It appears to me that everyone now knows that these major mistakes then resulted in enormous bloodshed and major conflicts.

Therefore, the return of the conference to this principle of equal respect for the interests of all three people, and the decision that a new constitution be arrived at with a tripartite consensus practically mean a return to a firm basis from which the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina can be solved.

We have in fact come to the conclusion on the basis of these two principles that, regarding the constituent nation and the principle of consensus, the rights of the Serbian people could be considered absolutely protected, because constitutional solutions cannot be imposed, in view of this consensus principle, nor can the rights of the constituent people be denied. This is why we were striving for these principles, which the two cochairmen came up with at the conference, to be accepted.

FRY President Cosic, Montenegrin President Bulatovic, and I insisted on this and simultaneously conducted very long talks with the Serbian Republic delegation, believing that these principles should be accepted, because they in fact facilitate the peaceful achievement of the long-term state and national interests of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, through negotiations rather than through fighting.

I cannot say that this has removed every danger of the war spreading, but it is certain that the danger is incomparably smaller today than it was before the accord on principles was reached. I am sure that if this positive evolution continues, and there are no reasons to assume that it could be spoiled by anything if we stick to these principles, I am sure that it could lead toward a just and lasting solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In this respect, I think that we are talking about significant progress, a major achievement, and great understanding. Both cochairmen of the conference demonstrated great understanding for these solutions and equal respect for all interests. Therefore, I expect things to develop further, progress further, and result in a general and successful peaceful settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What happened yesterday and today should represent substantial encouragement to all of us.

[Jevdjovic] We have seen that there were several longer meetings with the representatives of the Serbian Republic and with President Radovan Karadzic today. Also we have heard that a definitive decision will be made by the Assembly of the Serbian Republic. Does this mean that the fear of the future which exists with them, and is partially understandable as a result of all these events, could be reduced in the coming period with regard to everything that we have heard about the principles that were practically accepted by this document?

[Milosevic] It is beyond doubt and is undisputable that great fear does exist as a result of the cruelty of this bloody war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in which all sides are losers, but the civilians suffer most, regardless of their ethnic origin.

It is absolutely certain, however, that by acknowledging and adopting these principles, the Serbian side in Bosnia is entering the negotiations in a much more favorable position. To put it simply, a question has emerged: If a hand is being extended and a consensus offered, if the status of an equal and constituent nation is offered, if elements are offered that ensure that no solution could be imposed by which the interests of the Serbian nation would be hampered, then how is it possible to reject this? Simply, what does the change boil down to? It boils down to the fact that conditions are being created now—and I am not saying that they are all in place at this very moment, but they can be created in the future—that everything representing the interests of the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be resolved and settled in a peaceful manner through political negotiations.

I believe that this is the biggest encouragement that we were given in the last two days. I believe that the Bosnian delegation will brief the Serbian Republic Assembly accurately and in great detail on all the issues. I also believe that the Serbian Republic Assembly will endorse such a determination and such a direction in the interest of achieving peace and in the interest of a just and lasting solution to the entire crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Jevdjovic] By accepting such a document, one could say, the Serbian side would partially embark upon a sort of diplomatic initiative?

[Milosevic] Well, this is the basis for the compilation of the constitution, the basis for a discussion on maps, and the basis for military agreement. Therefore, it opens up possibilities for numerous initiatives. I am firmly convinced that all Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the entire Serbian nation want peace. Therefore, I do not doubt that there would be plenty of constructive thought and many initiatives that would assist this peaceful policy in resolving the problems that were resolved by force of arms before now.

[Jevdjovic] Does this mean that only by the endorsement of these principles is a road being paved for negotiations on everything that should comprise the essence of the future community in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Milosevic] Naturally. The constitutional basis will be defined, the constitution itself will be defined, and the military agreement and maps. Therefore, these are all issues that will be dealt with in the future round of talks—however, a round of talks in which all three sides will have the same position, in which all three sides will have equal positions, in which a solution cannot be imposed upon anyone and therefore against the interests of any of these three nations. This was our initial position that we presented before the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we are very pleased that the negotiations about the solution to the Yugoslav—that is to say, Bosnia-Herzegovina—crisis are finally returning to this position, this principle, and this policy.

[Jevdjovic] This, therefore, means that as opposed to, for example, the case in London where the delegation of the Serbian Republic had, let me say, an entirely different status and where the Muslim representatives represented all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this will now no longer be possible, will it?

[Milosevic] Absolutely, this must simply disappear.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you very much.

[Milosevic] Thank you.

Milosevic Reportedly Warns Karadzic

AU1201155293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report by Mujo Delibegovic from Geneva]

[Text] The longer the conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina lasts, the less hope there seems to be for a satisfactory solution, and for the three documents to be accepted in the form in which they were presented.

The bilateral talks that started last night between Vance and Owen and Karadzic went on almost until this morning, but no agreement was reached. Karadzic is blowing hot and cold and constantly coming up with new demands and proposals for the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Just when it appears that he will accept something, he comes up with a demand that the whole issue should be referred back to the Lisbon agreement, remarking that it was proposed by the European Community in the first place. Last night upon leaving the UN Palace, he told the assembled correspondents that he wanted for the Serbian provinces in Bosnia-Herzegovina the status that Serbia had in Yugoslavia, and for the three constituent units to have international subjectivity, that is, to be like Quebec and Bavaria.

He appeared almost two hours late at the plenary session with the same views. [Words indistinct] the UN Palace, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, who said that if the Serbs accepted the Vance-Owen plan, then there would be no problems with us. We have learned unofficially from circles close to the Serbs that Milosevic told Karadzic that, unless he accepted the proposed plan, the responsibility would lie solely with him.

At the news conference held by the two cochairmen after the plenary session, [words indistinct] the plan that Milosevic accepted. Vance added that it was impossible to reach an agreement with Karadzic at the moment, [words indistinct] that they were alone as the day would come [words indistinct]. This was a good chance but not the last one, Vance added. [passage indistinct] It also was confirmed that no partial acceptance of the plan was possible at this conference. Vance and Owen also said that they would inform UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali about the talks and he would then pass it on to the Security Council. The Security Council would then consider all the information and decide on further steps.

Croatian President Tudjman confirmed all this to correspondents, as he said that this was not the beginning of the conference, indeed it had come so far that even Cosic and Milosevic had accepted the constitutional principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Karadzic was rejecting them, and that it appears that it was not just another ploy as the two of them knew that Serbia, that is, Yugoslavia, was heading for further isolation and possibly military intervention. The Croatian side, Tudjman said, would propose a draft agreement on the end of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the entire crisis in the former Yugoslavia, as a sign of the normalization of relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia.

We also have received a statement made by [Bosnian Foreign] Minister Silajdzic after the plenary session. He, too, confirmed that the Serbs had rejected the constitutional principles, and spokesman Hajrudin Somun just said briefly that the discussion in Dakar had concluded that if the Geneva conference failed, the Security Council would meet, and this would be followed by another Islamic Conference.

It was announced that even though there had been no agreement at today's plenary session, new bilateral talks with the Serbian delegation would follow. The others have been asked not to leave the conference so that a new, joint session could be held tomorrow. It is difficult to believe, though, that today's friendly persuasion will bring anything new.

Delegates Leave Geneva

*AU1301115093 Paris AFP in English 1139 GMT
13 Jan 93*

[Text] Geneva, Jan 13 (AFP)—The key delegates from warring sides in the Bosnian talks left or were leaving Geneva Wednesday [13 January] after agreeing to a compromise peace plan during a three-day session here, airport officials said.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, whose initial opposition had threatened to scuttle the talks, was scheduled to leave Wednesday afternoon after holding a press conference, sources close to him said.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman returned to Zagreb Tuesday night, when the Yugoslav federal President Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic—whose country forms the rump Yugoslavia with Serbia—returned to Belgrade.

Bosnia's Moslem President Alija Izetbegovic left Geneva early Wednesday.

Karadzic made a last-minute turnabout Tuesday night, saying he accepted the plan for 10 Bosnian provinces under a multi-ethnic central government provided his self-proclaimed parliament agrees.

Karadzic To Resign If Assembly Rejects Plan

*LD1301035993 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0303 GMT 13 Jan 93*

["Po.3" item]

[Text] London, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Tuesday [12 January] evening told Britain's Radio Four that he would offer his resignation to the parliament of the Bosnian Serb Republic if it did not accept the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina drafted by cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

Karadzic on Tuesday evening in Geneva accepted in principle the new Vance-Owen peace plan, but with a proviso that the parliament of the Serb Republic would make the final decision within seven days.

Member of the Bosnian Serb Presidency Biljana Plavsic on Tuesday evening told Channel Four that she was sure the Bosnian Serb parliament would reject the Vance-Owen plan.

Joxe Condemns Milosevic's 'Poisonous Ideas'

*AU1301101793 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT
13 Jan 93*

[Text] Paris, 13 Jan (AFP)—French Defence Minister Pierre Joxe Wednesday [13 January] said he backed "political intervention" in dealing with Serbian nationalists.

"The best way of dealing with the Serbs is by political intervention," he told French radio Europe 1.

"We must condemn both politically and morally the actions of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and some of his friends...who have spread highly nationalistic ideas and who see a need for a religious war," Joxe said.

"Our first battle must be a political one, a battle of ideas because it is by spreading his poisonous ideas that Milosevic and his friends have managed to mobilize these crazy people, not only the army, but groups of bandits too," he added.

"All means of dealing with the Serbs, by military threat or military action, serve no purpose unless they are supported by a clearly spelled out policy."

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Tuesday bowed to pressure from the Serbian president after last-ditch Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina and agreed to accept the ten-point peace plan if his parliament backed it as well within seven days.

But Biljana Plavsic, vice-president of the self-declared Bosnian Serb republic, told British Channel 4 television: "No, definitely no, the Bosnian-Serb parliament will certainly not accept" the constitutional accord agreed by Karadzic.

"I understand Karadzic approved certain details but that was his opinion," said Plavsic, adding that not only parliament, "but also those in the front-line were opposed."

She stressed that "the loudest voice was the voice of parliament."

United Nations spokesman Fred Eckhard, speaking after Karadzic announced his turnaround, said: "We are not sure that the Bosnian-Serb parliament will approve the plan."

Klaus Calls Visegrad Grouping 'Artificial'

LD1101195793 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 11 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today confirmed his view that cooperation within the Visegrad grouping was an artificial process created by the West. Klaus said this in an interview given to the French paper LE FIGARO last week.

This grouping was not created from below, as an expression of the profound desire of Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Polish citizens, but from above, as a political decision and, moreover, in relation to a certain desire of the West to create another "grouping" in Central Europe, Klaus told CTK today.

The Visegrad Troika (after the split of Czechoslovakia called the Visegrad Four) was set up in February 1991 as a regional grouping to promote cooperation between three post-communist Central European countries—Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Speaking to CTK, Klaus also stressed he has never said anything implying that he would not support maximum cooperation between the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland.

On the contrary, I consider relations with these neighbouring countries to be of key importance which I also emphasised in my new year's address, Klaus said. He added that emphasising the Visegrad grouping as an institution was something quite different.

Czech, Slovak Parliaments Hold Joint Meeting

AU1201084493 Prague CTK in English 1951 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 7 (CTK)—Leading representatives of the Czech and Slovak parliaments in Prague today agreed to initiate the creation of deputies' commissions or committees to monitor the fulfillment of Czech-Slovak treaties and agreements.

The agreements to guide mutual relations between the two republics after they became independent January 1 were signed in the last quarter of 1992.

After the first meeting between the two parliaments since Czechoslovakia's split, Chairman of the Slovak Parliament Ivan Gasparovic told journalists that the two sides also agreed to exchange draft laws, especially those which in future might be controversial.

Gasparovic also said that the two sides agreed to meet before voting on some questions in international institutions, if either side so requests. Both sides will strive to take identical stands.

Gasparovic said he handed to Milan Uhde, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament, a letter from the chairman of the Prague-based Slovak Club. It contains a request that everything be done for

the Czech voice to be heard (over radio and television—Ed.) in Slovakia and vice versa.

Discussed was also cultural cooperation, including distribution of the press, journalists were told.

Uhde said that appointments of the Czech ambassador to Slovakia and vice versa were not discussed during the meeting.

Gasparovic added that the ambassadors are already more or less known. He said that as far as he knows, secretary of state in the Slovak Ministry of Culture, Ivan Mjartan, from the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) has been mentioned as Slovakia's ambassador, and former Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Miroslav Macek from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) has been mentioned as the Czech Republic's ambassador.

The two sides also exchanged information on the future of the 300 deputies to the now-defunct Federal Assembly (parliament). 174 of them were elected in the Czech Republic, and 126 in the Slovak Republic in the June 1992 elections.

The Czech parliament on December 19 rejected a draft law to create a second chamber, Senate, by a transfer of federal legislators. The draft is to be discussed again later this month.

Gasparovic told journalists that Slovakia should make the final decision January 19 at a session of the Slovak parliament. A draft law on creating a second house will probably be submitted to the session. It has been worked out by deputies from the HZDS. Other drafts have not been prepared, Gasparovic added.

Jiri Payne (ODS), chairman of the foreign committee of the Czech parliament, told CTK that the foreign policy (of the Czech and Slovak Republics—Ed.) should be mutually consulted.

Speaking after a meeting with his Slovak counterpart, Ivan Luluha, (HZDS), Payne said that both states are tackling similar problems.

Nevertheless, Luluha said, each of them have their specific tasks stemming from their geographical positions. He stressed that his committee has initiated creating a Slovak-Hungarian interparliamentary commission to deal with the two countries' relations.

Payne told journalists that a proposal has been made to set up a grant system or a fund to support joint economic projects.

Deputy chairman of the Slovak parliament, Peter Weiss, chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), said that cooperation between the Czech and Slovak Republics requires certain compatibility of their legal orders.

This is also important from the point of view of citizens of other nations living in the two countries. The legal orders must be adapted to that of the European Community (EC), Weiss said.

He added the two parliaments' representatives agreed to quickly solve the questions of dividing the intangible property deposited in the archives of the Federal Assembly.

Weiss stressed that even though Czechoslovakia has been divided, the idea of Czechoslovak mutuality is not dead. It should be sincerely and reasonably developed in the new conditions, he added.

On the future of the common currency, Weiss said that even in this sphere, it would be more reasonable for the two countries to inform one another in case they find serious reasons to split the currency earlier than originally planned.

According to their currency treaty, the two republics should have a common currency until June at least.

The Czech delegation to the talks included, in addition to Uhde and Payne, also the Parliament Deputy Chairmen Jiri Vlach (ODS), Karel Ledvinka (Civic Democratic Alliance, ODA) and Jan Kasal (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, KDU-CSL).

The Slovak delegation included, in addition to Gaspárovic, Weiss and Laluha, also Parliament Deputy Chairmen Jozef Prokes (Slovak National Party, SNS) and Augustin Marian Huska (HZDS).

Experts View Central European Security

AU1201151193 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jan 93 p 8

[Interview with Maurits Jochems, leader of NATO's Defense Planning Department's Defense Policy Group; Leonid Belousov, scientific senior member at the Kiev Global and Regional Security Research Institute; and Svetoslav Bombik, analyst at the Bratislava Foreign Ministry's Analytical Department, by Csaba Poor in Budapest; date not given: "Participants of the Budapest Conference on 'NATO and Central and Eastern Europe' Talk About the Region's Future—Security Can Only Be Brought About by Economic Development"]

[Excerpts] NATO should play a bigger role in stabilizing the Eastern and Central European situation and in eliminating and preventing the conflicts and, for the time being, dialogue with the region's countries and increasing cooperation are considered to be the most adequate forms of this by Brussels, this was the view held by the participants of the two-day international conference on the new security role of central Europe which was held in Budapest at the weekend. Out of the some 60 participants of the conference, in an interview to

MAGYAR HIRLAP, Maurits Jochems and the representatives of two young European countries, Leonid Belousov of Ukraine and Svetoslav Bombik of Slovakia expounded their views on the Central and Eastern European situation and on relations with the West and the region's countries. Due to Romania being our neighbor, we had also intended to interview a Romanian expert, however, the only guest of the conference from Bucharest declined our request. [passage omitted]

Leonid Belousov: The Matryoshka-Principle of Security

[Belousov] It would be in NATO's interest to examine how the states of the former socialist bloc could join the community of European countries, and how some kind of bridge can be built that leads out of the current uncertainty and indetermination. At the moment, this is one of the main issues for the young and independent Ukrainian state because we have not joined any security alliances which has created an impression in us of a vacuum surrounding the country.

[Poor] In your view, how can this situation be changed?

[Belousov] Rapprochement can be implemented on the basis of the so-called "Matryoshka-principle." This means that Ukraine could, for example, establish a subregional collective security organization with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], but it could at the same time also join the alliance of the Visegrad four countries in which, let us say, Germany or other NATO countries could also participate. In this way, certain countries could play a connecting role between these narrower alliances. When we say that many countries would like to become NATO members, we first have to determine whether they see this as an end or a means. As a matter of fact, NATO membership is a means of guaranteeing security, but this can also be established in other ways, without joining it, for example by establishing such links with NATO that would entertain the hope that Europe does not turn away from any country. It is true that the situation and development level of the various countries is different; therefore, the level and phases of rapprochement will also be different. Establishing such stable relations is also in the interest of NATO because we can only talk about security when all countries feel secure to the same extent.

[Poor] The idea that NATO should treat the various Central and East European countries differently emerged a number of times during the conference. How do you explain this? Do you think that the CIS countries represent a considerable uncertainty in the already unstable region and that this prompts the other countries to be cautious to a certain extent?

[Belousov] In our countries, the change of the regime coincided with the dissolution of the Soviet state, and interstate problems were also added to the domestic problems. Therefore, it is justified to talk about a lower degree of stability than in the other countries of the Central European region. Naturally, this is relative because Ukraine, for example, is one of the most stable

points in the CIS. I do not believe that we can talk about discrimination here. It is self-evident that the level of rapprochement between NATO and the former socialist countries is determined by the degree to which these countries are prepared to identify with the priorities emphasized by the West, and how they can identify with the West European standards.

[Poor] You said that Ukraine is one of the most stable countries of the CIS, which cannot be disputed, but it still has too many disagreements with Russia. There is also a problem that makes the whole world uneasy, namely the issue of nuclear weapons....

[Belousov] It has been mentioned at the conference that "our negotiations on this issue are not completely ethical." However, when talking about this kind of issue, we must put ourselves in the position of the other side, become familiar with their position, and then compare that to ours, and this is the only way a compromise can be reached. It is not a solution to simply state that your way of arguing is incorrect, and we will not continue the negotiations if you carry on doing this. For example, in the case of Yugoslavia, who is going to say which side is completely right? If the peacekeeping forces are deployed, then who is going to decide whether they will act the way they should? The conflict will not be resolved if one of the sides is defeated. Therefore, the most important thing is to establish a system of political institutions which eliminates the need for these peacekeeping and peacemaking forces.

Svetoslav Bombik: We Must March Together Toward the West

[Poor] How Slovakia can find its rightful place in the community of European countries is obviously a key issue for the country that was only formed a few days ago. However, the uncertainty resulting from the changes in the region probably makes this task rather difficult....

[Bombik] Although Slovakia is a new state, we have not lost our previous Western orientation in politics, and this naturally also applies to the security problems. In my view, this is also an important issue from the aspect of

Slovak-Hungarian relations because we must march together toward the West. I am convinced that the most important thing for the region's security and stability is to negotiate with each other as much as possible, maintain daily contact, and to get to know the other as much as possible. When the economic situation improves, then interstate relations will also be better. At the same time, security issues have an enormous importance because, if the West can give some kind of security guarantees to the Eastern and Central European countries, then the economic aid will also be continued.

[Poor] Our region has a general problem that is not a minor issue from the security aspect, namely the issue of national minorities. This tension led to civil war in Yugoslavia. In your view, is it possible that the ethnic conflicts may also cause a similar catastrophe in other places?

[Bombik] I hope they will not. I base my view on the fact that we—Slovakia and Hungary—both have to face a common danger that is coming from the East. We must cooperate, and there is no place for conflicts related to national minorities. Naturally, I am aware of the existing problems, but we have to resolve these together.

[Poor] What do you mean by eastern danger?

[Bombik] The former Soviet Union, especially Russia and Russian-Ukrainian relations are extremely uncertain factors in the region because almost all issues are still open here. The Russian situation is very complicated, and I can see increasingly frequent signs of an empirical attitude gaining ground.

[Poor] Do you think that the national minorities can be a tool in the hand of their state to exert pressure on the mother country?

[Bombik] I believe that it is in Hungary's interest to keep Slovakia in the Visegrad process and to maintain good relations with it. Otherwise, a possibility might arise for Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia to form some kind of alliance, the Slovak nationalist forces may gain ground, and this kind of process can Balkanize Hungary.

Zhulali, U.S. Officers View Military Cooperation

AU1201192893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] The Defense Ministry spokesman reports that this morning Defense Minister Safet Zhulali received a U.S. military delegation led by Brigade General Thomas Lennon.

After greeting them, our defense minister briefed the U.S. friend and those accompanying him on our Army reform process and the current state of restructuring given the developments in the present regional situation. Zhulali stressed that in the restructuring process, priority will be given to the advice and experience of the U.S. Army. He then addressed the need of assistance in various areas to ensure a new, strong, and functional army.

For his part, Lennon expressed his pleasure over the progress in relations between both armies and confirmed that a U.S. team will soon start working in our country. This team will get acquainted with the problems, share its experience, and put them on the way toward solution. He assured our defense minister that they will do everything in their power and start work as soon as possible.

Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho, chief of the Army General Staff, also received the U.S. delegation this morning. He explained more specifically some of the factors that are necessary to help our Army in its restructuring, especially under the conditions of the present situation.

Lennon said that we are pleased to work with you in this transition period and during the process of democratic development in Albania. This is the way to the future, and this is important for national and regional security.

Lieutenant Colonel John (?Greathouse), U.S. military attache in Tirana, participated in these meetings, which were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Memorandum Outlines Cooperation

AU1201195093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] The memorandum of agreement between the Defense Ministry and the U.S. Command Staff for Europe was signed at the ministry this morning. This agreement included the U.S. activities concerning bilateral army relations. The goal of the agreement is to further develop bilateral relations. This opens the way for further developments and contacts between our Army and the U.S. forces.

The memorandum was signed by Defense Minister Safet Zhulali and U.S. Ambassador William Ryerson.

Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho, chief of the Army General Staff, Major General Agim Baruti, deputy chief of the General Army Staff, and other high-ranking military officials participated in this ceremony. From the U.S. side, participants were members of the U.S. delegation

led by General Lennon and Lieutenant Colonel John (?Greathouse), U.S. military attache in Tirana.

Serreqi, Uka, Iranian Official Discuss Cooperation

AU1201212593 Tirana ATA in English 0909 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 12 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry reports that a foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, is on a working visit to Albania at the head of a delegation.

The delegation was received by the Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and other representatives of this ministry.

During the visit in our country he will conduct working meetings with authorities of the Albanian Government.

Negotiations were held at the Foreign Ministry on January 11 between the Albanian delegation led by Alfred Serreqi, foreign minister, and the Iranian delegation led by Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

Both parties exchanged opinions on the extension of economic relations and cooperation between the two countries, the situation in the Balkans and broader.

On behalf of the Albanian Government, Minister Serreqi thanked the Iranian party for the aid it offered to the flood affected areas and expressed his will and readiness for a greater cooperation in the areas of science, technology, and culture. In this context both parties appreciated the appointment of experts' group for economic cooperation.

Regarding the crisis in former Yugoslavia, the ministers upheld the same views for its solution by political means.

Rexhep Uka, deputy [prime minister and minister] of agriculture and food, met the Iranian foreign minister, Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, and other members of the delegation.

Mr. Uka briefed the Iranian friends on the democratic process in Albania and the application of the reform.

The two interlocutors spoke on the opportunities for the development of relations in different fields between the two countries, particularly the projects the Iranian party forwarded in the sector of agriculture in Albania.

The Iranian party confirmed its attitude to the solution of crisis in the Balkans and the support of Albania to the Kosovo issue.

The meeting was also attended by Arjan Starova, deputy foreign minister.

Mehja Discusses Factors Restoring Order

*AU1201200793 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT
11 Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, January 11 (ATA)—In an interview with the Albanian TV on the factors that influenced the restoration of order in Albania, Astrit Mehja, deputy minister of public order, said among the other things that the cadres are picked up considering the devotion of the cadres who contributed to the stabilization of the order and restoration of tranquility in the transition period. There were also picked up young civilians, mainly from the political persecuted, and the whole activity of the police was put on legal basis. Cadres of the ministry are sent abroad to acquire specialization.

It is worth mentioning the accumulation of 4,000 weapons and 461 others that were kept without license. It is more and more increasing the number of thieves while stealing or committing other crimes. There are about 1,500 cases. It comes out from the statistics of murders for 1991-92 that during 1991 there have been discovered 85.8 percent of such cases, while for 1992 there have been discovered 90 percent of cases. It also comes out that for the year 1992 there were 4.7 murders for 100,000 inhabitants, while for the year 1991 there were seven murders for 100,000 inhabitants. As compared to the indices of some other countries, it comes out that Albania (in 1990 comparing with the indices of criminality in some countries) comes after Great Britain, the United States, Scotland, the former Soviet Union, and France.

Former Political Prisoners Begin Hunger Strike

*AU1201201193 Tirana ATA in English 1106 GMT
12 Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, January 12 (ATA)—A group of former political prisoners of Shkoder started a hunger strike on January 11 at 1000 in a building in the center of the city.

The chairman of the strike commission stated to the ATA reporter that participants in this strike are former political prisoners from the zone of Dukagjin, Vau i Dejes, Gur i Zi, Ura e Shtrenjte, and the city of Shkoder. According to him, the number of the hunger strikers amounts to 50 persons.

Asked of the demands of the strikers, he said that they are demands of economic character. The strikers ask compensation for their work in jails and concentration camps during the years of the communist dictatorship.

On January 11, the strikers did not allow reporters to enter the building where they are.

Hoxha Aquired 'Luxury Goods' With State Funds

*AU1301075093 Paris AFP in English 0434 GMT 13
Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, Jan 13 (AFP)—Relatives of Albania's former communist dictator Enver Hoxha used state funds to buy "a large quantity of condoms and drugs to treat impotency," prosecutor Teodor Mosko charged here during the trial for corruption and embezzlement of Hoxha's widow Nexhmije.

Sokol Hoxha, one of the former ruler's two sons, testified Tuesday [12 January] on the fourth day of his mother's trial, but refused to say what pharmaceutical drugs his family had obtained from abroad.

Nexhmije, 72 indignantly rejected the allegations and shrugged off the charges that her family had lived like kings on public money.

"There will always be people who live in luxury and others who eat the leftovers," she observed.

Sokol, who used to be director of the postal service, but is now out of work, did admit to having acquired luxury goods from abroad but he denied knowing how much they cost or who had paid for them.

"I know nothing about it. We had staff who looked after that kind of thing," he told the court.

Nexhmije Hoxha and Kino Buxheli, 39, who was formerly responsible for supplying the personal needs of Albania's communist leadership, are both accused of dilapidating public funds, corruption, and abuse of power.

The prosecution has claimed that between 1986 and 1990, Buxheli's department spent \$76,400 on behalf of the Hoxhas—an amount roughly equivalent to 300 years of salary for the average Albanian worker.

Enver Hoxha died in 1985 after ruling Albania with an iron fist for nearly 40 years.

Berov To Sign Chemical Weapons Ban in Paris

AU1301083193 Sofia BTA in English 0807 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Lyuben Berov this morning left for Paris. He will take part in the official ceremony for signing the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction.

The Bulgarian prime minister is scheduled to meet with French Prime Minister Pierre Berezogovoy, Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou and Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste.

"I hope we'll be seen in Paris as a new, democratic government of this country, which deserves to be trusted and expects to stay in control," Prof. Berov told reporters on leaving for the French capital.

President Zhelev Views Recent Political Events

AU1301084993 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 4 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Raycho Raykov in Sofia on 31 December: "Democracy Is Achieved Only by Democratic Means"]

[Text] [Raykov] Mr. President, it seems that the last days of 1992 encapsulated the most striking events of the year, both the best and the worst. What lessons should we draw from these days, for we cannot simply forget them, can we?

[Zhelev] The most striking event of 1992 was the election of the latest government. I believe that we can also draw many other lessons from the past year. In my view, the first necessary lesson is that we must renounce the spirit of confrontation at all costs! It is not constructive and brings the country no good. When I refer to confrontation, I mean extreme antagonism, excessive politicizing and exacerbation of problems that should be resolved in a businesslike manner. The gross ideologization and politicization of economic and administrative problems leads to no good results. When I say confrontation, I do not imagine that there will be no opposition, no struggles, quarrels, or polemics. This is normal in every society that is polycentric, with a multiparty system, free trade unions, a parliament with an opposition, and so forth. These are normal things. The question is whether these struggles and this opposition will go beyond the sensible limits that enable them to be constructive in spirit, because if we look at it from a different angle, confrontation may also be a motive force for advancing the changes....

[Raykov] You mean that once again we fall back on the yardstick that we Bulgarians have very often lacked....

[Zhelev] On the yardstick of common sense, of course, because in its extreme degree confrontation means

armed clashes and civil war, and we can see this clearly enough to the west. Thank God, we are far from reaching this condition, but extreme confrontation sows the seeds of hatred and enmity from the outset....

[Raykov] It is already sowing ethnic confrontation. Some of those who were recently in power have begun to allow themselves to do this.

[Zhelev] I do not know to what extent ethnic confrontation exists, but it is evident that some people are permitting themselves to dabble in this, which means playing with fire, and this is very dangerous. Thank God that most people are not taken in by this trick, but the main political forces are well aware of how risky this game is.

[Raykov] Having talked about the burning issues of the past week, perhaps, Mr. President, we might talk now about 1992 as a whole. Do you feel comfortable in your presidential chair, which I note is surrounded by the national flag, the flag of a United Europe, and a portrait of Vasil Levski?

[Zhelev] Let me tell you, I do not sit in this chair very often.... (laughs)

[Raykov] Very well, have you felt comfortable in the short time that you have sat in it?

[Zhelev] A person does not always feel comfortable here. The flags and Levski's portrait remind him of very heavy duties. I mean this more in a metaphorical sense.... This seat is connected with many responsibilities, with the people's even greater expectations of me, to which I am far from able to respond, both because of the president's relatively limited powers and due to the complex and difficult situation that we have all been experiencing for months on end, a situation that we may soberly describe as critical. May God grant that Mr. Berov's recently elected government can make a start on surmounting this governmental and general political crisis!

[Raykov] You referred again to the new government—it is clear that you regard it as a success. However, what were the most difficult moments for the state during the past year?

[Zhelev] We had many difficult moments. One of these, let us say, was the failure of understanding, the divergence of view between me and the National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], which resulted from our different views and interpretations of the path of the changes in the country. Let us take a specific example of our differences, relating to decommunization. It turned out that we understand decommunization quite differently, and this caused tension between the presidential institution and the SDS leadership—the National Coordinating Council, and between the presidency and the government, because the latter was under the Coordinating Council's direct control. For a certain time, tension also existed between the president and parliament.... I realize that some of these contradictions are unavoidable, but they are not unique

and specific to Bulgaria. We see such contradictions between institutions in almost all the postcommunist countries, either because of attempts to establish the institutions and their rights and powers, or because of stimuli coming from below, from the civil society and the political formations.

[Raykov] After having talked so much about contradictions, it seems inevitable that I should ask you this: Today, 31 December 1992, do you still feel you are part of the SDS?

[Zhelev] I have always felt part of the SDS, but now it is very difficult for me to say what the SDS is because two different tendencies have developed in it. The first is the authoritarian tendency, which attempts to rule the country and carry through the reforms by administrative, forceful, and undemocratic means. At the moment, this tendency dominates within the SDS. The second tendency, to which I also belong, is in my view the democratic one, which insists that the reforms and democratic goals should be achieved by democratic means. In no country has it ever been possible to achieve democracy by undemocratic means because in such cases democracy will inevitably be compromised; sooner or later, in one way or another, from one or another direction, it will be discredited. Come what may, this will inevitably happen because the means used will simply destroy the noble ends. I believe that in this respect we are failing to learn the lesson from our most recent history. I am thinking of the former regime, which in the beginning had highly noble goals—to build a just society, with no exploitation or suppression. However, the means by which it attempted to attain the end torpedoed everything. Instead of a more just society, we witnessed a far more terrible, oppressive, and fiercely exploitative society. We will leave aside the question that the goals themselves were utopian and unachievable!

[Raykov] Does this mean you believe that, in the final analysis, the end does not justify the means?

[Zhelev] From the viewpoint of an assessment made by one or another political force, it may appear to us that the end indeed justifies the means. However, there is also another aspect to consider: the means themselves may prove unsuitable for achieving a given end. If the end is a noble one, the means should also be noble, and if the end is democratic, the means must also be democratic! Democratic goals cannot be reached by undemocratic means!

[Raykov] We have come back to your original thesis: Democracy is achieved only by democratic means!

[Zhelev] That is true.... For the whole of this year, all in all, we have been grappling with this problem: Democracy or authoritarianism?

[Raykov] You were attacked and vilified for holding the news conference in the grounds of the Boyana Residence. Would you hold it again if the circumstances and situation of that time were repeated?

[Zhelev] Of course, I would repeat absolutely everything and add a lot more things besides, because the warning that I delivered at that news conference has not merely been borne out. My worst fears have not merely been confirmed, they led to the collapse of Filip Dimitrov's government beneath the weight of its own mistakes, following which a number of other things happened that made the situation even more grave.

[Raykov] Do you not think that the news conference acted as a catalyst? By assuming such a responsibility, you had to bear many insults, abuses, attacks, and curses.

[Zhelev] I never intended that news conference to serve as a catalyst to speed up any processes. I was really extremely worried by the course that they had adopted—the SDS, the government, and our state institutions. It was an attitude of extreme complacency, as if you have won the elections with 51 percent of the votes, and now have an absolute monopoly of power. It was an attitude of complete disregard of the support of the extraparlimentary and parliamentary forces, of refusing to broaden your base and ensuring more points of political support—this is very dangerous when you have won the elections with a little more than 30 percent of the votes!

[Raykov] Practical experience has shown that this seems to be true....

[Zhelev] You cannot govern the entire country with one-third of the vote, and this without seeking allies, looking for forces that will support you, not to mention the trade unions. Without the trade unions, any government is condemned in advance, it is doomed. However, I do not mean that the trade unions should rule the country, and that the government should be their hostage! Nevertheless, it cannot survive without conducting a dialogue with them. It must coordinate certain things with the unions; that is, the trade unions themselves should be involved in the reaching of some decisions, especially in the period of transition that we are experiencing now. In a long-established democracy, the relations between the government and the trade unions can be somewhat different. In such a case, the government may permit itself to adopt a more confrontational approach, if it believes that the unions are not fair. However, in our own situation it is an impossible luxury to allow ourselves to do this, and it inevitably ends in disaster.

[Raykov] This surely implies that we have not yet completed writing the textbook entitled: "How To Govern in Conditions of Transition." Furthermore, we have not fully analyzed our mistakes. Mr. President, what will you say to the people who believed and had faith in you as president last February, and to those who called you a traitor and burned your portrait?

[Zhelev] I am not a vengeful person, nor do I bear grudges. In essence, the issue here concerns not my personal attitude, but political relations. I believe that time will show who is right and who is wrong, who betrayed the blue [SDS] idea and who defended it. Many

of the things being said today sound like demagogy, and therefore the people do not always believe them, or do not have much faith in them. I consider that life itself will show, even within the very near future, who has assumed reasonable and realistic positions and has defended the development of Bulgarian democracy. Accordingly, I am not disturbed so much by the fact that some of my supporters have distanced themselves from me and cooled off.... The SDS hardliners have done a great deal to create a negative attitude toward me and the policy that I am attempting to carry through. I do not claim to be perfect, I have certainly committed errors in some details and in some specific cases, but I consider that in the main I have held to a correct policy, because I have always tried to defend democratic principles. In other words, democracy is achieved only by democratic means!

[Raykov] Mr. President, in conclusion, I would like to ask you to send your seasonal wishes to our readers and the TRUD team.

[Zhelev] I sincerely wish the readers and editorial staff of the TRUD newspaper, above everything, good health, personal happiness, and success in 1993. May your newspaper continue to be so bold, readable, objective, and in high demand!

Poll Sees Berov Government as 'Dependent'

AU1201145593 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 9-10
Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Commentary by Emil Robev: "One-Third of the Polled Are Convinced That Berov Depends on Zhelev"]

[Text] Sofia, 8 January—Over one-third of the respondents in a public opinion poll conducted by telephone expressed the view that Prof. Berov's government will be most strongly influenced by the presidential office. Approximately one-fifth of those polled are convinced that the government depends on the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], while approximately 10 percent think that the cabinet is under the influence of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], or of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]. Another 10 percent do not express any conjecture regarding the government's dependence on any individual or party whatsoever. The results of the poll are varied, but the prime minister's past as the president's adviser on economic affairs evidently prevails.

The data were collected in a telephone interview with 503 Sofia citizens by the "Agora-22" Public Opinion Research Agency at the request of the daily KONTINENT.

Prof. Berov's cabinet is a strange formation, as a matter of fact. It was established with the "decisive support" of the BSP through the DPS mandate and was supported by

23 members of parliament who hastily separated themselves from the SDS. In addition to all this, the government team, which entirely consists of nonparty members, declared its intention to implement the SDS program. Whose government is it, after all? Many people are unable to answer this question in a specific manner and hence are convinced that the government is most decisively influenced by the president. The major argument in this regard is certainly the fact that the prime minister was the president's adviser. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the fact that the first statements of the new ministers impressed the public by the reasonable and moderate tone in which they were pronounced and which was in sharp contrast with the emotional and sometimes unrestrained harangues of most former ministers. This manner of speaking strongly reminded everyone of Dr. Zhelev's style.

Supported by both the left and right, this government defies all easy and categorical definitions. Hence, a paradox, unprecedented for our political life, namely the fact that one-fifth of those polled describe the cabinet as being dependent on the BSP while 10 percent define it as being dependent on the SDS, has come true. We cannot help getting used to such strange things. The sharp contrasts are being attenuated, which is bad for extremists on both sides, on the right and the left alike.

BSP Leader Withholds Support for Berov Cabinet

AU1201215093 Sofia BTA in English 2001 GMT 12
Jan 93

["Today"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Zhan Videnov today told the press it was absurd for the BSP to back a cabinet which is implementing the election programme of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The BSP will finalize its stand on the Lyuben Berov cabinet after the prime minister presents a programme and after the cabinet's first 100 days in office, he said. According to the BSP, it would be logical for the prime minister to ask a confidence vote in parliament, Mr. Videnov said. [passage omitted]

At a news conference today the leader of the extraparlimentary Green Party Aleksandur Karakachanov said Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev's request to strip Aleksandur Lilov MP [member of parliament] of the Socialist, former Communist, Party of immunity would cause difficulties to the National Assembly chairmanship. Mr. Karakachanov said the prosecutor general should investigate the activity of the ousted Filip Dimitrov cabinet.

There is great interest in the United States in the processes in the Balkans and especially in Bulgaria, the leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation Dr. Konstantin Trenchev told a news conference.

Dr. Trenchev said he was "moderately optimistic" about the new cabinet. Following his meeting yesterday with

the prime minister and cabinet members, the Podkrepa leader commended their willingness to resume the trilateral talks (of the government, employers and trade unions), the cabinet draft privatization programme and measures to combat crime.

Mr. Trenchev did not commit himself to comment on the latest trends in the SDS, but said a radical change in its structures was pressing. "I still believe the SDS is the only force which can carry on the reform," he said. [passage omitted]

New Cabinet Priorities Positively Assessed

AU1201172593 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Jan 93 p 6

[Commentary by Krasimir Tsigularov: "New Cabinet Intends To Turn to Real Economy"]

[Text] Only the time the new Bulgarian cabinet is given will show whether the period of postponing the solution of the national economy's problems is about to end. However, at least the initial declaration, intentions, and actions indicate the existence of the ambition to relinquish the practice of using general phrases, something that bordered on ignorance, and adequately tackle the problems of real economy. The specific program, which was promised by the end of January, is expected with great interest. It will determine to a large degree the cabinet's ability to survive against the background of the bitter and hazardous inheritance it received.

Companies' debts amount to about 100 billion leva. Entire economic sectors are in a state of economic collapse, with destroyed interbranch relations and lost markets. Exceptional efforts are needed to contain the inflation at least within the framework of this year's 80 percent, because all possible inflation hotbeds are still active. The structural reform, despite the programs, continues to be only an intention with an unclear strategy. The disrupted state machine urgently needs means and a normative foundation, otherwise its very existence will be jeopardized.

From the very first day of its existence the cabinet will be subjected to strong pressure. All the problems, which remained unresolved in the last several months and which do not suffer any delay, will burden it. Every attempt to continue the patching up piecemeal, as the practice was in the past, is doomed. Selection of priorities and constructing a mode of behavior that corresponds to the existing possibilities have a special importance.

Indeed, for the first time in a long time in Bulgaria, the subject of priorities is being discussed at the governmental level. Agriculture, light industry, and certain branches of machine building and chemistry are the targets of special attention according to the cabinet's program declaration. Beginning the structural stage of the reform with a clear privatization program is a strategic task, the declaration points out. This is a

transition direction that could guarantee both the democracy and the impossibility of reviving structures which have been negated.

The rapid adoption of an additional package of laws on accelerating the restructuring, limiting the replacement of leaders because of purely political reasons, and activating local self-government as counterpoints to the enhanced centralism are among the urgent tasks of the cabinet. Indeed, turning to the problems of real economy is in the foundation of the new cabinet's program declaration. Its first moves point in the same direction. It remains to be seen whether the new cabinet's potential corresponds to its intentions, and whether it will encounter political actions aimed at preventing it from leaving the zone of chaos.

Interior Ministry Secretary Bonev Resigns

AU1201174393 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 93 p 2

[Text] On 5 January Bogomil Bonev, until now chief secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, submitted his resignation to the president in the following letter:

"Following the resignation of Filip Dimitrov's government, the slanderous campaign that has been waged against me by certain mass media for more than a year assumed the scale of paranoid hysteria.

"I declare that in absolutely all my actions as chief secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs I have worked honestly, unselfishly, and in a dedicated manner for the interests of my country.

"For this very reason, I can in no way agree with the wording used in the proposal made by the Council of Ministers on my transfer to another post. I consider it to be not a professional, but a political assessment of my work.

"Contrary to the assertions made during the past year, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has completed a vast amount of work, despite certain errors. Most importantly, the image of the ministry has been changed: The police force now occupies its proper place in the regional structures, and the people have ceased to fear that leaderships at all levels will conceal operational information.

"My resignation poses further questions for the Bulgarian public: Has the Interior Ministry Act really not been applied so far, and what is the interior political image of a state in which 'lawlessness' allegedly existed? Is General Bonev trying to evade a possible investigation of the various charges? Not at all! By this very means conditions are created for an impartial and objective investigation.

"Having fully considered the circumstances described above, I request that you accept my resignation as chief secretary and official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

New Foreign Policy Adviser for President*93P20072A Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 93 p 2*

[Unattributed article: "The President Will Have a New Foreign Policy Adviser"]

[Text] Kamen Velichkov, a career diplomat, will probably be the new foreign policy adviser for the President of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev. Velichkov studied at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations. He has served for two years as secretary at the Bulgarian Embassy in Tel Aviv. He speaks English, Arabic, Russian, and French.

SDS Council Discusses Oppositionist Line*AU1201174593 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 93 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Romyana Mikhova]

[Text] The National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] met in Sofia on 5 January to discuss the first steps taken by Berov's Fatherland Front government and the political line that the SDS should adopt as an opposition force. The big purge has begun, especially in the enforcement ministries—this is how one may sum up the actions of the new cabinet, which has directed its "efforts" toward the Defense and Interior Ministries instead of toward the economy. In these two ministries drastic dismissals of deputy ministers and chiefs of departments have been carried out, evidently for political reasons.

A change is clearly beginning in the process of depoliticization of these ministries, and this can only be assessed as an act of disassociation from the SDS policies, Filip Dimitrov said at the news briefing following the meeting. The SDS will follow every step made by the Fatherland Front government and will oppose every attempt to halt or distort the processes of the reform in Bulgaria. The first alarming warning signals can already be seen: "Problems" concerning property restitution are being mentioned, suggestions are being made that the liquidation councils are unnecessary, and so on.

In its work in parliament during the new year the SDS will commence by reregistering its parliamentary group, since it is clear that the 23 SDS deputies who voted in support of Berov's cabinet will find no place in it. This will constitute the practical fulfillment of the decision of the SDS coalition that was approved by vote in the National Coordinating Council, at the last SDS national conference, and by the SDS parliamentary group that persons or parties that support the Fatherland Front cabinet thereby cease to be members of the SDS. It is clear that as a result of this reregistration the SDS parliamentary group will no longer be the largest, but the second largest group in parliament, and that in principle the SDS will have fewer votes. However, the votes of the 23 deputies ceased to be ours from the moment when the

new parliamentary majority was formed that in practice removed the SDS from power.

Some of the SDS member parties are themselves resolving the problem concerning those of their National Assembly deputy members who supported the Berov cabinet. At its meeting on 4 January the executive bureau of the Social Democratic Party in the SDS decided to propose to the party's municipal organizations in Mikhaylovgrad, Plovdiv, and the Lozenets district in Sofia that they should expel deputies Svilyana Zakhariyeva, Neycho Neev, and Ivan Pushkarov.

At its meeting yesterday the National Coordinating Council decided to reestablish the post of political director of the DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper, and Edvin Sugarev was elected to this post by 12 votes in favor, one against, and two abstentions. This post does not imply censorship of the newspaper, nor opposition to the publishing syndicate or to the chief editor, Sugarev declared following his election. In his view the political director's duty is to help shape the newspaper's political line during the period in which the SDS is becoming a parliamentary opposition. Sugarev will probably present the new political line to the DEMOKRATSIYA publishing syndicate on Monday 11 January.

The SDS political leaders also voted by eight votes to five to eliminate the post of SDS spokesman and to transfer his functions to the SDS Press Center.

SDS Criticizes Ganev Remarks Against Dimitrov*AU1201150793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] A meeting of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] took place today. After a profound discussion, the participants adopted three basic decisions.

The SDS National Coordinating Council deems inadmissible the statements of Mr. Stoyan Ganev against former Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and invited Stoyan Ganev to present to the SDS National Coordinating Council evidence and documents related to his accusations.

The SDS must decide at a national forum-conference what its political behavior will be without losing its position as the leading political force in the country.

A national conference will be set after the SDS municipal and regional conferences.

Mr. Edvin Sugarev was elected director of the DEMOKRATSIYA daily and publishing house. Today the SDS National Coordinating Council confirmed the decision.

The participants discussed in principle the issue of reregistering the SDS parliamentary faction members. This is a matter of technology and procedural details, Mr. Filip Dimitrov said.

New Government Expected To Pursue Army Reform

AU1201145093 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Jan 93 p 6

[Commentary by Genka Markova: "Overcoming Stagnation"]

[Text] We have every reason to expect that the stagnation that impeded the Bulgarian Army's reform could be overcome. Hierarchy and rank should no longer be a guarantee of cozy retirement, as long as they are not backed by professional skill and competence. In responding to the accusations against the personnel and structural changes at the Defense Ministry that he has just initiated, the new defense minister assessed the former structure of the defense department as it existed before the Staliyski era.

The Army's personnel problems, which were set aside and forgotten, are now being resolved on a priority basis as a remedy against the cliches of the Soviet General Staff academies with which the Bulgarian Army was indoctrinated over the years. Let us hope that circumstances will not prevent the civilian bloc in the ministry from playing the leading role. The temporary disagreements between military and civilian personnel could be eliminated by an extensive reform based on European criteria and standards, implemented by cadres ready to submit alternative proposals in applying smooth and sensible measures aimed at eliminating certain military structures, while the Army's decommunization should proceed further by all means. All this could guarantee that the stagnation that paralyzed the post-totalitarian Army can be finally overcome, without jeopardizing the country's national security.

DPS Head Dogan Advocates Alliance With Turkey

AU1201175393 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 6 Jan 93 pp 2, 3

[Second installment of interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS), by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "I Would Help To Dissolve the Rights and Freedom Movement in the Name of Our Nationwide Interests"]

[Excerpt] [Veleva] Mr. Dogan, in view of what is happening to the west of our country, what is your assessment of how the processes are developing here in Bulgaria?

[Dogan] This is a very complicated question, especially from the viewpoint of our country's geopolitical situation. Bulgaria is the center of the Balkans. Many of the world's highways and many interests of the great powers intersect here. In this context, it is indeed difficult to make any predictions, even for the very near future. However, we, as a central country in the Balkans, should in any event adopt the necessary political measures to

insure ourselves against any eventualities in relation to our neighbors. The idea is very frequently mooted that if anything should happen, the United States, or Western Europe at least, would immediately come to our aid. Look at how, since this conflict has developed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the United Nations is still not ready to intervene. They are still operating within the framework of declarations, while the death toll has reached more than 100,000. This cannot in any way reassure us, because the issue concerns our state's security regarding our own future, the status quo in the Balkans, and the appetites that our neighbors to the south and west may develop toward us at such a juncture. This is especially true when the issue is posed of reallocating certain countries' zones of interest in the Balkans and, most of all, of redrawing the map of the Balkans. We must be reinsured against any eventuality and must seek truly guaranteed allies.

[Veleva] Where do you see these allies? Who might help us in such a situation?

[Dogan] I place very great hopes in the common sense of Europe and the United States, but your neighbor should help you when you are in need. If they live far away, your relatives may not even have any notion of the problem that worries you. In my opinion, our most reliable ally at this stage is the Republic of Turkey. If an alliance existed between the Republics of Turkey and Bulgaria, all claims against Bulgaria, whether they come from the south, west, or east, would be automatically nullified. It is hardly likely that anyone would develop any appetites if we had at our rear a guarantee of the kind that the Republic of Turkey can provide. I am not convinced that our western neighbor would not have had certain ambitions toward us before now, had not the relations been good between the Republics of Turkey and Bulgaria. When a country begins to suffer death agonies, it is inclined to resort to extreme actions, and it has an interest in expanding the zones of conflict. Our country comes within such a zone of conflict. It is not merely backroom gossip that, of all our neighbors, only the Republic of Turkey has no territorial claims against Bulgaria. Every Bulgarian citizen should fully understand this: Only the Republic of Turkey has no territorial claims on our country. All our other neighbors have such claims to some extent, in one form or another. Take, for example, the Dobrudzha, and our special relations with Romania that arise therefrom; take Macedonia and our ensuing relations with Yugoslavia and, to some extent, with Greece; take the idea of restoring the status quo existing in the Balkans prior to World War II. The problem of a corridor to Kavalla and the Aegean also lies in the same context. It is no accident that these issues are now being examined. In every case, they raise the problem of Bulgaria's security as a factor in guaranteeing stability in the Balkans and southeast Europe in general.

[Veleva] Psychologically speaking, the Bulgarian finds it difficult to admit that Turkey is his most faithful ally. If we accept, however, that the Republic of Turkey has no territorial claims against Bulgaria, it is nevertheless

indisputable that Turkey wants to establish zones of influence through mass investments of Turkish capital in Bulgaria.

[Dogan] Unfortunately, nothing of the kind exists. It is even a little offensive that the Republic of Turkey displays no special interest toward Bulgaria, but it has no reason to do so. Our legislative basis and possibilities are far below those existing in other countries. Look here, a vast market of 60 million people is opening up in the Central Asian countries, which are rich in human and natural resources. Perhaps Turkey would not have directed its attention to the Balkans, had no conflict existed in Yugoslavia. However, may God grant that Turkish capital comes here to set us on our own two feet more quickly!

[Veleva] Does the DPS serve as a channel for the pro-Turkish line in Bulgaria, or will it do so in the future?

[Dogan] Under no circumstances! If you really examine the policy line followed by the DPS, you will see that we have never been a channel for any pro-Turkish policy in Bulgaria. I will tell you something more. The very fact that the DPS was founded, exists, and takes part in political life gives the DPS an opportunity to change policies both in Bulgaria and the Balkans. This statement does not only come from me, it was established by politicians in the U.S. Congress, who very closely observe and analyze the situation in the Balkans.

The issue of whether the DPS will take part in the government or not is not incidental, and certain neighboring countries are dropping hints in this regard. For this reason, we are conducting a policy linked with our national interests. This is the only solution for the stability of the DPS and the country as a whole, the only way to exclude the possibility of any pro-Turkish or other partisan policy being imposed that runs counter to our national interests.

[Veleva] If national interests require it, would you consider the idea of dissolving the DPS?

[Dogan] Yes. It we put the question like this, every organization and party exists only as long as there is a social requirement for it, and if it represents any political interests, it should only do so within the context of national interests. If it indeed comes about that the existence of the DPS becomes contrary to national interests, from the viewpoint of preserving the country's sovereignty, I am prepared to help to dissolve the movement. I say this in the full realization that I am a Bulgarian citizen and that the DPS exists to guarantee the rights of the country's citizens and communities and the country's stability. I stress once again, the DPS has changed politics in the Balkans.

[Veleva] At what level do you maintain links with the Turkish Government?

[Dogan] Unfortunately, I have not yet met with Suleyman Demirel, the respected prime minister of the Republic of Turkey. I hope to establish such a contact in the very near future. Naturally, I have not sought such a meeting on my own account, because different values apply now. Having made the acquaintance of many of the most outstanding Turkish politicians, I have reached the conviction that they now regard Bulgaria in a different way, as a fraternal country. In view of the most recent development of events in Central Asia, Turkish economic interests have been directed predominantly toward the east. I sincerely hope that we will eventually create conditions for the Republic of Turkey to grant the necessary credits to Bulgaria, especially in connection with developing certain infrastructures in Bulgaria. I am thinking of the mountain and upland regions of the country. However, this issue lies within the competence of the government. We are only able to speed up these processes. [passage omitted]

Ethnic Turkish Parties Reportedly Proliferate

AU1201122893 Sofia BTA in English 1212 GMT 12 Jan 93

["Four Parties Vie for Winning Over Bulgarian Turks"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—Four parties will vie for the votes of the Bulgarian Turks and Muslims.

The ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), which had won seats already in the Grand National Assembly (July 1990 - October 1991), now is the third biggest parliamentary force in Bulgaria. Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet, elected on December 30, 1992, was formed using the mandate assigned to the DPS.

The Turkish Democratic Party and Mr. Kamen Burov's Democratic Party of Labour were set up late last year. Now yet another party is going to vie for the votes of the Bulgarian Turks. Ex-Chief Mufti Nedim Gendzhev announced his intention to found a new party at the end of January. It will be called the Muslim Party of Justice. According to Mr. Gendzhev, it will not be a party set up on a religious basis. There will be Christians among its founders which, in Mr. Gendzhev's view, proves that its establishment is not ethnically motivated. [passage omitted]

The Turkish Democratic Party (TDP) founded at the end of November by Mr. Adem Kenan and some former DPS members is of nationalist orientation. The DPS does not recognize it. The TDP has not been registered through a court of law yet.

The other new party—the Democratic Party of Labour (DPL), was set up in December last year. The DPL declared that it would defend the interests of Bulgarian Mohammedans. Its activity will be mainly economically motivated, the party will take upon itself to defend the interests of the population in the Bulgarian mountain areas. The DPL leaders said they would seek contacts

with the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) as their political line and programme were similar to those of the SDS. What is more, they did not rule out the possibility of entering an election coalition with the SDS. The DPL is expected to be registered through a court of law by the end of January.

Agrarian Parties Disapprove of New Government

AU1201142393 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by Elena Dyulgerova: "Glushkov Calls For Elections, Drenchev Describes New Government as Nomenklatura, While Bulgarian National Agrarian Party Is Not Enthusiastic About It"]

[Text] Sofia, 7 January—According to Ivan Glushkov and his National Christian-Agrarian Party, Lyuben Berov's cabinet is nothing but a "neo-Fatherland Front" government. Glushkov is convinced that new elections are the only way to overcome the political crisis. The National Christian-Agrarian Party members claim that the establishment of the new government under the mandate of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS) is the result of secret, behind-the-scenes bargaining.

The Bulgarian National Agrarian Party (BZNS), headed by Georgi Petrov, which is a member of the Union of Democratic Forces and claims to have 40,000 members, also describes the new government as a revival of the "Fatherland Front."

The BZNS, headed by Anastasiya Mozer, is in doubt about the future of the cabinet and considers it a transitional solution on the way to elections. The renovated agrarian party is convinced that the problems of the rural population are hardly likely to be resolved on the basis of the cabinet's program declaration.

Milan Drenchev, the veteran of the agrarian movement, who dismissed the reunification of the Agrarians in December 1992 as unrealistic and also refuses to recognize the existence of other agrarian formations, told KONTINENT that his forecasts about changes in the executive power have come true. Drenchev claims that the crisis, being a political, rather than a government crisis, can be expected to persist.

Central Bank Details Continuing Economic Slump

AU1201174993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Jan 93 p 8

[Text] The Bulgarian National Bank's economic bulletin reports that the macroeconomic situation in November was characterized by an acceleration in the decline in economic activity. According to provisional data gathered by the National Statistics Institute (NSI), instead of the seasonal revival in economic activity that is customary for this time of the year, enterprises in the state sector reported receipts from sales of goods and services valued at 27 billion leva at current prices, as against 30.6

billion leva for the preceding month. In real terms, this represents a fall of about 27 percent in comparison with the same period in 1991, and a decline of 20 percent as compared with October 1992. There are grounds for assuming that the serious recession affecting production will continue, with no indication when the bottom will be reached, because the results of the NSI's monthly questionnaire on sales and production expectations in the short term are once again far from optimistic.

In contrast to October, the November figures show a more pronounced fall in receipts from sales of manufactured products, resulting in their share of the total receipts falling by 6.3 percentage points. The decline in receipts from sales of commodities is less marked, so that their share in the overall receipts structure increased by 3.9 points.

During the first 11 months of 1992 total income from sales of industrial output amounted to about 153.5 billion leva, i.e. a fall of 18 percent in real terms, as compared with the same period of 1991. However, in comparison with the first three quarters of 1992, the real level of income obtained from sales of industrial output in the January-November period showed a further decline of 1.7 percentage points. The following branches of the industrial sector made the greatest contributions to the economic results: the food and tobacco industry, chemical industry, electric and thermal power generation, engineering and metalworking, and the electronics and electrical engineering industries. They produced about 71 percent of the total receipts from sales of industrial output during the January-November period, but were also responsible for about 80 percent of the decline in receipts as compared with the same period of 1991.

In November stocks of finished products (including goods sold but not paid for) in the economy rose by 0.65 billion leva over the October figure, but a perceptible slowing in the rate of increase was observed. Production fell by 28 percent as compared with November 1991, and by about 20 percent since the start of the year. The main factor determining the dynamics of sales, stocks, and production in November was the lower-than-expected seasonal stimulation of consumer demand, which was affected by the dynamics of wages and employment noted in the previous month.

At the end of November, the average number of registered employees in the public sector, not including agriculture, was 2,209,800, which represents a fall of 25,600 as compared with the figure recorded at the end of October, which in turn was 25,000 less than the September figure. The largest proportion of those laid off (40.2 percent) lost their jobs due to the closing of production facilities and payroll cuts. During October the number of registered unemployed rose by 18,900 (compared with a rise of 14,400 in September), reaching a total of 558,000.

In October the average monthly wage received in branches and activities in the public sector of the economy, not including persons on maternity leave and those employed in agriculture, was 2,325 leva. Compared with October, the nominal average wage fell by 137 leva. This restored the previous situation, which was disturbed only during September, under which the consumer price index has been greater than the wages and salaries index since the end of 1991.

Consumer prices for goods and services rose by 6.7 percent in November, continuing to rise as compared with previous months (3.4 percent in September, and 6.4 percent in October). The greatest rise (14 percent) was noted in taxes and fees, which is probably attributable to the faster increase in certain taxes and fees, such as on the incomes of persons falling within the higher tax brackets of the progressive income tax system. A worrying development is that this is the second month in which food prices have shown a marked increase (of over 8 percent), which reflects a fall in supply while consumer demand remains relatively constant. In October retail prices increased overall by 5.5 percent (including 8 percent for foods, 4.3 percent for nonfood goods, and 5.7 percent for services).

The increased rate of stagflation in November is due to weaknesses in controlling personal incomes; continuing delays in resolving problems connected with noninflationary financing of the budget deficit; increased liquidity due to rises in negative real interest rates; and rising expectations of further inflation, as a natural result of the deepening political crisis in the country. All this shows that the possibilities have already been exhausted for controlling inflation mainly through restrictive monetary measures. With a view to preventing a new, even greater wave of inflation, it is becoming increasingly necessary to provide additional receipts for the state budget and to find alternative sources for financing the budget deficit.

The increasing destabilization of most of the macroeconomic parameters recorded at the end of November necessitates an adjustment in the monetary instruments applied, to avert a further deterioration of the situation. However, the effects of these instruments are unlikely to prove sufficient as long as the country lacks political tranquillity and the country's monetary policy is not supported by sensible measures in the fiscal field.

Independent Agency Assesses 1992 Economic Reform

AU1201152093 Sofia BTA in English 1454 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—The first two years of the economic reform in Bulgaria saw a considerable liberalization of the economy. The public accepted the need for radical anti-inflationary measures. An attempt was made to implement a comprehensive balanced macroeconomic policy and key economic parameters were brought to normal, says the annual report on the state of

the economy of the independent Agency for Economic Programming and Development.

The agency's experts believe that the changes in the Bulgarian economy can be assessed according to as many criteria as are the aims of the reform. They cite the increased activity in the public sector and its newly acquired importance for the economy as a great achievement of the reform. "The unsettled question of ownership, however, still makes things very uncertain," the report says. In 1992 fiscal policy prevailed over monetary policy.

The agency stresses that restitution was given priority over "big privatization." The new version of the Foreign Investment Act, the amendments to the Labour Code and the new custom tariff schedule led to the liberalization of the economy. In 1992 Bulgaria made progress in negotiations on the settlement of its foreign debt. A second standby agreement was signed with the IMF. According to the agency's experts, there are unsettled problems with the land reform because the effect of the amended Land Act will be felt in 1993-94 at the earliest. The Bulgarian economy was badly hit by the embargo against the former Yugoslavia.

Economic managers were motivated mostly by the preparation for privatization and by hidden privatization, the report says. The economy became largely unmanageable due to disorganization in the central and the local administration. Large streams of unidentified capitals are drifting in the economy, which feed the economic subjects and help them skirt budget restrictions, the report says.

The package of restitution acts which passed in 1992 have a strong impact on the economy. They changed the status of some 10 percent of the population, creating "real owners out of nothing," according to the experts. They believe that the transformation of state-owned companies is still overshadowed by spontaneous privatization, effected in different ways.

The agency says in its report that the central bank has made certain progress towards its institutionalization, while commercial banks still have a long way to go. The agency lists their low capitalization, the fragmentary banking system and the low qualifications of their staff as obstacles to institutionalization. According to the report, the interbank foreign exchange market was most successful in this area.

Possible Wage Hikes by New Cabinet Assessed

AU1201145393 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Jan 93 p 6

[Commentary by Boyko Nikolov: "A Chronic Disease"]

[Text] The dollar exchange rate is on its way up in our country. Even if not escalating for the time being, the increase is persistent. People claim that this is the trend followed on all worldwide stock markets. Nevertheless,

the Bulgarian change offices are hesitating to sell and prefer to buy. In other words—there is something specifically Bulgarian about the situation, in addition to the international dollar exchange rate.

Every new cabinet, which in addition to other things needs a certain amount of publicity, makes diverse and generous promises. The latest government, headed by Mr. Lyuben Berov, encouraged civil servants with the announcement that their wages would soon increase. Nevertheless, one small detail seems to overshadow the joyous landscape, namely that the major part of the Bulgarian economy is still state-owned, which extends to employees and their wages, of course.

There is no doubt that the last two years were especially hard for most Bulgarians. It is also an indisputable fact that the Army, the police forces, and civil servants in other spheres need adequate wages to prevent them from starving and to make them more or less resistant against the temptations of corruption. It is also true that the reform did not sufficiently progress over the last two years so as to bear the burden of wage increases.

We were promised a 40-percent inflation rate in 1992, while we ended up with 80 percent. In the meantime inflation is even further escalating and may even get out of control.

Prime Minister on Partition of Czechoslovakia

PM1201113293 Paris LE FIGARO in French 8 Jan 93
p 5

[Interview with Czech Government Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Xavier Gautier in Prague; date not given]

[Text] [Gautier] In your 1 January speech, you compared the importance of the birth of the Czech Republic with that of the fall of communism. What did you mean?

[Klaus] With the separation of Czechs and Slovaks, we have just witnessed the same type of historic turning-point as the 1989 revolution, even if some people in the West and in my country have tried to play down its importance. It is an enormous challenge that we must now take up in the interests of all.

[Gautier] What are your feelings about the disappearance of Czechoslovakia?

[Klaus] The Prague newspapers have announced that they will now put reports on Slovak affairs in their foreign sections. This is the new situation, and I would like the world to understand it: The Czech and Slovak Republics are now two independent countries. The Czechs did not want to start the debate on the country's division. I fought to the end to maintain the Federation. But when I realized that there was no chance of keeping this country united, my aim was to successfully carry out the division operation with the fewest possible clashes.

[Gautier] You do not seem to be sad about it....

[Klaus] I must admit that the separation has been accepted by the population without great emotion. I expected more bitterness, but it is wrong, absolutely wrong, to claim that it is I, Vaclav Klaus, who has divided the country with Mr. Meciar.

[Gautier] Why did you not hold a referendum on separation?

[Klaus] But what question would we have asked the Czechs? "Do you want the Slovaks to leave the Federation?" That would have made no sense at all.

[Gautier] Little Slovakia seems less prepared than the Czech Republic to confront its independence?

[Klaus] I would like to remind you that the process of changing Slovakia has taken place in parallel to ours over the past three years. In the structural sphere, the two economies are in virtually comparable positions. Even if the Slovaks decide to slow down the pace of the reforms, their situation is much better than that of their other neighbors: Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, or even Poland....

[Gautier] You seem very optimistic about the Czech Republic's future.

[Klaus] We have a major development potential. Look at the changes which have been made in our system since 1989: Lifting of price control, deregulation of foreign trade, the internal convertibility of our currency, small and large-scale privatizations.... This is all considerable. Add to that the human factor and the Czech Republic has a chance of becoming a normal European country very soon, both in the political and in the social and economic spheres. Culturally, we have always belonged to Europe.

[Gautier] Part of the legacy of Bohemia-Moravia is also the heavy burden left by communism. Does the hardest task not still remain?

[Klaus] I am almost sure that the opposite is true. We have already successfully survived these crucial changes in our system. Even if it seems inevitable that separation should be accompanied by some negative effects in the short term, our task will be easier in the future. The year 1993 will be the year of recovery.

[Gautier] What are the chances of success for your customs union with Slovakia?

[Klaus] This union makes it possible to maintain an important degree of integration between our two economies. I am far from pessimistic.

[Gautier] What is the purpose of the monetary agreements reached between Prague and Bratislava?

[Klaus] That is an entirely different question. The monetary cooperation we have established, with the temporary continuation of a common currency, will not last. But this agreement is vital.

[Gautier] This monetary arrangement will primarily serve the interests of Slovakia, which is the weakest....

[Klaus] That is a total misinterpretation, frequently made in the West. Monetary union will benefit our two republics. The two countries need monetary stability more than ever, especially to compensate for the drop in cross-border trade which will follow partition.

[Gautier] When will the Czech Republic be integrated into the EEC?

[Klaus] We must prepare to become an equal partner of the Community countries. I can tell you that, as far as we are concerned, we will be ready in a number of years, which can be counted on the fingers of one hand. I know that the Community representatives are thinking in terms of decades. However, I repeat that, in two or three years, we will be at least as well prepared as the weakest members of the EC.

[Gautier] Will the Czechs' European integration be part of the Visegrad process—the cooperation agreement between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland?

[Klaus] Certainly not! Visegrad does not concern us. It was a process artificially created by the Western countries.

[Gautier] And by Brussels....

[Klaus] Perhaps. But certainly not by we Central Europeans.

[Gautier] Bohemia-Moravia and its 10 million inhabitants is surrounded by a Germany of 80 million inhabitants. Do you see this powerful neighbor as a threat?

[Klaus] No. Economically, it is clear that German investors have always had a greater presence in our country than the Japanese or Canadians. When there are only around 100 km separating you from a country, it is natural for you to have a greater presence there. The Czech Republic is not threatened by anyone. Our relations with Germany and Austria are good. That is all.

[Gautier] You have no fear of possible claims, especially from the Sudeten Germans who were expelled from Czechoslovakia after the war?

[Klaus] In my view, this Sudeten problem has always been marginal. This affair has been fabricated by the Western press, which is in search of sensationalism.

[Gautier] Some businessmen are complaining about the difficulties of investing in the Czech Republic. What will your position on foreign investments be?

[Klaus] Exactly the same as before. Investment must provide benefits for the two sides and not just for one of them. Our government has no need to give preferential treatment to attract foreign investors. They will come to Bohemia-Moravia if they find economic stability, real privatization, and the lowest possible level of inflation there.

[Gautier] Mr. Meciar, the Slovak prime minister, announced that his priority will be to prevent Central Europe from becoming a new focus of tension. Do you think this danger is real?

[Klaus] Quite the reverse. I am fully convinced that by dividing the country as we have done, we have managed to prevent the Balkanization of this part of Europe. I think that is an absolutely crucial point.

[Gautier] Are you not afraid of an escalation in the quarrel between the Slovaks and the Hungarians on the Gabčíkovo dam?

[Klaus] This problem is not my concern. It concerns a sovereign state. Just like our huge nuclear power station in Temelin, it is an unfortunate legacy from communism, but one is a Czech problem, the other a Slovak problem. I simply hope the Bratislava's foreign policy will be much more rational than some remarks by local politicians have suggested. In the region, I do not think that Slovakia is a more dangerous partner than Hungary.

[Gautier] How do you explain the fact that the Czechoslovak partition has been so exemplary?

[Klaus] In the Czech republic, a broad consensus in favor of changing the system rapidly emerged after last June's elections. In Slovakia, the situation was very different. The maintenance of the Federation prevented the emergence of normal political statements. The entire debate was polarized around the question of separation or maintaining the Federation. Henceforth, it will finally be possible to see which of the advocates and opponents of reforms will dominate our neighbor's politics.

Communist Party To Form Shadow Cabinet

LD1201173593 Prague CTK in English 1631 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 12 (CTK)—The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) has decided to form a shadow cabinet, KSCM spokeswoman Blanka Robejškova told CTK today.

She said beside KSCM officials, the shadow cabinet is to include representatives of other left-wing and centre-oriented parties. Its members will be chosen out of the expert groups being formed at present, she added. The party has already chosen names of concrete persons to fill the posts of the ministers of health care, agriculture and education, Robejškova said but declined to give any details.

Though a shadow cabinet is usually prepared by an opposition party before parliamentary elections, the KSCM said that the reason for its decision is the extraordinary situation following Czechoslovakia's split on January 1.

Robejškova said that certain steps taken by the government coalition at present are not well-thought-out. Instead of preventing problems the government deals with them additionally, she added.

Opposition Parties Select Presidential Nominees

AU1201141893 Prague CTK in English 2029 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—The opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU) considers nominating Josef Vavrousek, Czechoslovakia's environment minister from June 1990 until June 1992, for Czech president, a source close to the LSU leadership told CTK today.

Vavrousek, a member of the nonparliamentary Civic Movement (OH) of former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, confirmed to CTK that LSU representatives contacted him in connection with this possibility.

He said, however, that he is not considering his candidacy at all in case former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel runs for the post. But even if he does not,

Vavrousek would most likely refuse the candidacy because he wants to devote himself to his current work, he said.

Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—Cestmir Cisar and Miroslav Vacek may be proposed as candidates for the Czech presidency by the Left Bloc (LB) deputies' group in the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament, CTK learnt today from a source which did not wish to be named.

Cisar, 72, was a protagonist of the 1968 Prague Spring reform movement and the first chairman of the Czech National Council in 1968. After the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in late 1989, he was Czechoslovakia's ambassador to the Council of Europe from May 1991 to March 1992.

Miroslav Vacek, 58, was Czechoslovak defence minister in Marian Calfa's government from December 3, 1989 to October 17, 1990. Before, from November 1987 until December 1989 he was the Chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak Army.

Vratislav Novak, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), did not deny the information about LB candidates. But he said there will be only one candidate of the Left Bloc. His name will be probably announced at the KSCM Central Committee's plenary session on Saturday [9 January].

The opposition Left Bloc consists of the KSCM and the Democratic Left of Czechoslovakia. It has 35 mandates in the 200-seat Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament.

Under the Czech Constitution, a presidential candidate is proposed by at least 10 deputies or ten senators. The senate is only to be established. The date of the presidential election is not yet known.

Roman Kovac Comments on Presidential Candidacy

AU1201144293 Prague CTK in English 1005 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava, Jan 11 (CTK)—Slovak dailies today report on the coming presidential election, the dismissal of the daily SMENA's editor in chief, and recent price increases.

The daily NARODNA OBRODA confirms that the Slovak president will be someone who can optimally bridge disputes between parties and movements. The actual decision on the election of the Slovak president will fall to parliamentary circles or party centrals. It will not be decided on the basis of the candidates' programs, but on pushing through individuals as such, the paper writes.

Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac, one of the presidential candidates from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), says in an interview in NARODNA OBRODA that if his party nominates only one candidate, it would evoke memories of the former communist-led national front. Kovac describes his relations to the other HZDS candidate, former chairman of the Federal Assembly, Michal Kovac, as confused, but that he likes his ideas and feels Michal Kovac would be a good president. Roman Kovac also emphasizes that it would be an unfortunate signal abroad if the Slovak parliament cannot come to an agreement on the election of a president. [passage omitted]

Coalition Parties Fail To Agree on Candidate

LD1101225193 Prague CTK in English 2231 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 11 (CTK)—The chairmen of the Czech government coalition parties today failed to agree on their joint candidate for Czech president, Chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) Jan Kalvoda told journalists after their talks today.

According to Vaclav Benda, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the KDS, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), and the Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] categorically rejected the ODA's proposal that they should name the candidate now. They refuse to do so until the question of a future Senate—the second chamber of Czech parliament, is solved.

Not even the ODS considered it proper to discuss today who should be proposed by the government coalition as their joint candidate for Czech president, Benda said.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the ODS, said the coalition did not discuss any concrete presidential candidate today. He confirmed nevertheless that the coalition will propose a joint candidate.

Benda confirmed that if the president is elected by a complete parliament, that is by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, the KDS will support the candidacy of former Czechoslovak president Vaclav Havel, but otherwise it will have to reconsider its stand.

It is necessary to consider whether Vaclav Havel would not be too strong in case of a non-existent Senate, Benda said.

The original idea that the Senate would be filled with former federal parliament deputies elected in the Czech Republic gave rise to controversies in the Czech parliament and the issue has not yet been solved.

Benda said that if the Senate is not filled, a danger of a constitutional crisis would arise. It may happen, he said, that the Chamber of Deputies would not agree on something essential and in such a case, if the Senate does not exist, the president would have to interfere.

Therefore we must consider whether Vaclav Havel and people who he trusts would be the most suitable persons to entrusted with solving a constitutional crisis. I am not afraid that Vaclav Havel himself would do something wrong in such an extraordinary situation. But I would not like such a situation to get into the hands of some former communists, Benda said.

According to Josef Lux, chairman of the KDU-CSL, the coalition four agreed on the need to speedily fill the Senate and then elect the president. We agreed that this should be done by the end of January, said Lux.

ROI Opposes Government Stand on Romany Issue

AU1201144593 Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 9 (CTK)—Chairman of the Romany Civic Initiative (ROI) Emil Scuka today characterized as critical the situation created after Czech Prosecutor General Jiri Setina submitted a draft law on emergency measures to enforce public order in areas threatened by excessive migration.

The draft law, submitted to the Czech parliament December 30, was presented as a tool to help counter unrest provoked by some ill-disciplined migrating groups of the population. Under the law, legislators would have the power to limit rights to use flats and houses at places labelled by the government as threatened by migration.

Scuka told today's press conference that the draft just as some decrees passed by local councils in some north Bohemian towns are aimed against Romanies, and warned against tendencies leading from democracy to totalitarianism.

According to him, the decrees are unlawful and Setina should be recalled from his post by the Czech parliament.

Setina's dismissal over the draft was also demanded Friday [8 January] by former Czech Interior Minister Tomas Sokol of the nonparliamentary Civic Movement (OH), who said the draft indicates a trend towards liquidating democratic rights in the Czech Republic.

The draft, which has aroused a wave of criticism being seen as violating the charter of fundamental rights and freedoms, came in response to the controversy over a November 3 decree on securing public order passed by the north Bohemian town of Jirkov. The decree ordered fines of up to 100,000 korunas (about \$3,500) for actions endangering the morals, health, and security of others, immediate eviction without judicial approval, and other penalties.

At today's press conference, ROI representatives called on the Czech parliament to cancel the above mentioned

decrees and adopt a resolution that would make impossible the passage of the draft submitted by Setina, even in a changed form.

The ROI expects that the Czech Government will charge the Interior Ministry with ensuring order in the areas of unrest using the existing legislation.

ROI deputy chairman Klara Samkova, deputy to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly until June 1992, said that the initiative has always supported the government coalition. If, however, its stand on the Romany issue does not change, it might bring about pressure actions such as civic disobedience.

She said that Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus does not see all possible consequences of his ignorant policy. She added that if he does not change his attitude, he will only count the dead after the next elections.

The ROI was founded in November 1989 and one year later had 50,000 members. In the 1990 general elections it slated with the Civic Forum (OF), the winner of the elections in the Czech Republic. For the 1992 elections it ran independently but failed to gain any seats in either the Czech or federal parliament.

According to the latest census in March 1991, the number of Romanies in the Czech Republic totals 33,489, but their real number is believed to be much higher. Romanies, who are concentrated mainly in north Bohemia, are often blamed for the high crime rate in the region.

Bank Official Says Banknotes Being Stamped

AU1201143593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 7 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by "(rob,sim)": "The Stamping of Banknotes Has Begun"]

[Text] The stamping of larger denomination Czechoslovak banknotes (1,000 and 500 korunas) is under way. This was confirmed by Czech National Bank Vice Governor Miroslav Keros yesterday. The technical preparations for the separation of the existing common currency into two independent ones has actually begun.

"Banks are actually creating supplies of stamped banknotes. It has not yet been decided whether duty stamps or rubber stamping will be used," Vice Governor Keros replied to our question.

The stamping of circulating banknotes was also implemented in 1919, after the independent Czechoslovak state was established. Miroslav Keros said that this method "has not been preferred because of tradition, but because it is technically feasible."

"If a sufficient issue of new banknotes is secured in a short period of time, the stamped banknotes will not be required at all," the vice governor said.

The entire process of replacing the old banknotes with new ones should cost some 250 to 300 million korunas, according to preliminary calculations. The operation is scheduled to be completed no later than by the end of this year. Deposits with banking institutions will make the replacement easier for both the people and the state.

For a certain period of time, stamped federal money can circulate alongside with newly issued Czech banknotes. The overall expenses for the issue of new 10 and 5,000-koruna paper money by the Czech National Bank will amount to 900 million korunas at current prices. It is expected, however, that some 800 million korunas will not return from circulation, which would cover a large portion of the expenses.

Tosovsky Interviewed on Current Problems

AU1201153693 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Jan 93 p 1

[Interview with Czech National Bank Director Josef Tosovsky by Marcela Doleckova; place and date not given: "The Currency Committee Meets for the First Time"]

[Text] The cream of the Czech National Bank, composed of Josef Tosovsky, Miroslav Kerous, and Jan Vit, is meeting today with the leadership of the National Bank of Slovakia—Martin Tkac, Marian Juzko, and Elena Kohutikova. This is the first meeting of the Currency Committee whose task should be, in principle, to coordinate policy between the two central banks, so that the currency union may function properly.

On the eve of the meeting, we asked Czech National Bank Director Josef Tosovsky for an interview.

[Doleckova] What is your specific idea about the work of the Currency Committee?

[Tosovsky] Specialized departments in the then State Bank drafted a certain currency prognosis for this year. It will be necessary to agree on a common idea about the economic development in both republics, and also on the corresponding concept for control over the common currency. This will be a certain basis, on which the Currency Committee will take decisions, for example, regarding the volume of refinancing, interest rates, and other monetary tools.

[Doleckova] The existence of the common currency may be terminated if the state budget deficit in one of the republics attains 10 percent of its own income, if the foreign currency reserves decline, or if there is a transfer of capital from one republic to the other. How is the Currency Committee to going to follow these factors? Will there be time to gather such information?

[Tosovsky] What you have mentioned are certain criteria for "separation," which make it possible for one side or the other, to abrogate the treaty, that it, to unilaterally put an end to our common currency. That

means that both central banks will keep an eye on those figures. This does not require any special source of information. The central banks have books—each in its own republic—on the state budget and they have, that way, daily information on income and expenditures. Currency reserves, too, are hooked to the interbanking trading system with convertible currencies, and we will have these figure on our tables everyday. As far as the movement of capital is concerned, this problem is slightly more complicated. Basically, the deposits in banks and how they develop can be taken into account. We are monitoring these, too.

[Doleckova] Can one side hide something from the other—for several hours, at least?

[Tosovsky] If you mean hiding an emission of money without the approval of the Currency Committee, this would be a very serious thing. I think that this is technically impossible. Of course, this would mean immediate separation, and moreover, the side that would do it would have to bear all the consequences of the lost confidence of the entire world. In banking, the loss of confidence always means great losses.

[Doleckova] There were reports in the press that the stamping of banknotes had begun. Does that mean that the Czech National Bank does not anticipate a long life for common currency?

[Tosovsky] The central bank has never hidden the fact that it is going to prepare itself technically for the monetary separation, if there is a need. These works have begun. Only a minimum of banknotes will be stamped in such a way as to keep the common currency in existence.

[Doleckova] On the penultimate day of 1992, the State Bank raised the discount rate. Commercial banks do not want to react immediately to this step. What was the reason, then, for this step?

[Tosovsky] You know that last year we finally abandoned directive tools of monetary policy, such as limits on interest rates and on credits. We replaced them with tools that have roots in the market economy and that make it possible for us to influence the monetary situation indirectly. By the end of the year, we had to fine-tune these tools, and make them ready for this year. Last year, by the end of summer, we tried to act so as to push the interest rates lower, and with this intention in mind, we lowered the discount rate. At that time, prices almost stagnated, and we were able to do something for revival. Then, some taxes were adjusted, which is what we did not expect. Prices went up somewhat. When there is higher inflation, commercial banks are increasing interests on deposits to keep the deposits by the depositors. Due to this development, the discount rate did not fully reflect the conditions on the market. Now, we have returned it to the corresponding level, and we may be able to make a better use of it.

[Doleckova] One complex problem is waiting for you, however: the problem of dividing the balance of the State Bank into two balances of two independent central banks. You spoke about the possibility that the Slovak Republic might fall in debt with the Czech Republic. What is the situation?

[Tosovsky] We will have final figures by mid-January. Both successor central banks will divide accounts receivable and payable of the former State Bank and obligations toward the state budgets and commercial banks on their territories and other entities divided according to the territorial principle. It is true that Slovakia was granted more credits from the Czech money, and there will be some debt owed by Slovakia to the Czech Republic. We are estimating it at a quite large sum amounting to billions. We are going to seek compensation, which would be applied in other items of the balance, or in other items of the Federation's property that will be divided.

[Doleckova] Let us return to what is the most important now—the economic development. What will it bring us, in your opinion?

[Tosovsky] Our forecast of the economic development is quite well known, I believe. We are at the beginning of the new year, and we can see immediate problems to which we must react immediately. They are, above all, collection of new taxes, and customs deposits in the trade contacts between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. This requires better debt servicing and greater flexibility on the part of commercial banks. Another pressing problem is the development in the state budget since the beginning of the year—whether and to what extent we will be able to collect taxes and succeed to cover the budget's expenses. Another question mark is the price development, which is closely connected to the introduction of new taxes and speculative behavior necessarily linked to it. Further, we must ask what impact the price development will have on demands for wages and how the wages are going to actually develop. Last year, they definitely rose faster than it would correspond to a sound development. However, I do not only want to speak about problems that are attracting our attention at the very moment. As I said, those are our problems in January. Regarding the entire year, I must say that we want to build on the results of last year, which were, as far as the stability of currency is concerned, exceptionally successful.

Kocarnik Does Not Rule Out Price Regulation

AU1201144793 Prague CTK in English 1150 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 9 (CTK)—Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said last night that the government is ready to regulate the prices of some basic foodstuffs unless the price rise triggered off by the introduction of the value-added tax at the beginning of January is halted.

Kocarnik was speaking with journalists after an extraordinary session of the tripartite council, consisting of representatives of the government, employers, and trade

unions. The council's goal is to maintain social peace in the period of transition from central-command economy to the market system.

Kocarnik said that prices of some foodstuffs, particularly dairy products and bread, markedly exceed the expected growth. Price controls of these products will be intensified, Kocarnik said.

Chairman of the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions Vladimir Petrus said that trade unions consider it appropriate to compensate people with lower incomes for the price increase, but did not specify his proposal.

He said it is difficult to say whether it is the businessmen or the government who are responsible for the price growth.

Asked whether the present situation could harm social peace, Petrus said that it will be preserved if talks on price problems continue.

Dolgos Says Coupon Privatization Will Continue

AU1201144693 Prague CTK in English 1821 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 9 (CTK)—The second wave of coupon privatization will be launched in Slovakia next autumn, Slovak Minister for the Administration and Privatization of National Property Lubomir Dolgos told CTK today.

He emphasized that the Slovak Government has not abandoned the conception of privatization by standard methods.

State enterprises included in the list for the second privatization wave will stay there, but prior to the second wave they will be privatized by standard methods.

In case they are transformed into joint stock companies, certain parts of them will be excluded and offered for the second wave of coupon privatization, Dolgos said.

Czechoslovakia's privatization process through coupons was launched in November 1991, allowing Czechoslovak citizens to order shares of privatized state companies in exchange for coupons in five rounds of the first privatization wave. The last fifth round closed on December 22.

On December 27, 1992, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar called coupon privatization an action, which is finishing and will not be repeated in Slovakia. He said the Slovak Government considers standard forms of privatization to be more advantageous.

Dolgos said that he has consulted his current view with Meciar and that they have decided to continue coupon privatization also in Slovakia.

In the Czech Republic, the second wave of coupon privatization is projected to start with the distribution of coupon booklets next summer. According to Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, it should be the last one.

Parties Seek To Form Democratic Bloc*LD1101152993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] One hour of each Monday morning traditionally belongs to the meeting between Democratic Party [DP] officials and journalists. However, at the meeting today, representatives of three more political parties and movements were present. Milan Kajan will tell us more about the reasons:

[Kajan] The parties present through their chairmen at the DP briefing were: Democrats '92, the Movement for Understanding between Czechs and Slovaks, and the Greens Party.

The reason for a joint news conference was the signing of an agreement on the formation on Friday [8 January] of a political group under the working title of Democratic Bloc. This group does not have its own legal form yet, nor do its members yet have a clear idea about how far and how fast the process of integrating individual parties should go. The only certain thing so far is that the Greens Party wants to retain its own legal status so that it does not break the laboriously created links to international environmental institutions and to European green parties.

The other three parties indicated their readiness to merge into one entity. The new group is still at the stage of searching for its character. It is not yet clear whether it will strive for a right, liberal, or conservative position, whether it will become environmentalist, or whether integration with the Czech Republic will become a priority.

Since all four parties are nonparliamentary, it will be interesting to see whether they succeed in adhering to or disproving the adage, which is held by nonparliamentary parties, that the unification of even 10 dwarfs does not create a giant.

Ministry Reports Rise in Unemployment*LD1101215993 Prague CTK in English 2131 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 11 (CTK)—A total of 260,274 jobless people were registered in Slovakia (population over five million) on December 31, according to the data of the Slovak Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs given to CTK today.

Their number rose by 2,390 people against November 30, 1992, and represented a 10.38 unemployment rate. Some 33,306 people seeking jobs were last year's graduates from all types of schools.

Unemployment benefits were granted to 37,322 people. At the same time, a total of 16,204 jobs were being offered.

The highest unemployment rate, 19.6 per cent, was registered in the Trebisov district, East Slovakia, the lowest, 3.81 per cent, in the Slovak capital of Bratislava.

According to Czech Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Zdenek Dostal, the rate of unemployment in the Czech Republic was 2.57 per cent at the end of last year, which is the lowest unemployment rate in Europe.

Last week, he was quoted by Czech Television as saying that less than 135,000 people were registered as seeking jobs in the Czech Republic (population over 10 million) on December 31, while over 79,000 jobs were being offered.

Meciar: Republic in No Hurry To Stamp Banknotes*AU1201141993 Prague CTK in English 2011 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 8 (CTK)—Slovakia is able to stamp its banknotes very quickly, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak Radio today.

If the situation does not deteriorate, Slovakia will not hurry up with this step as it is preparing to issue its own money, he said.

He voiced the assumption that the Czech side will not unilaterally rescind the Czech-Slovak agreement on a customs and monetary union, signed October 29. He added that in case the common Czech and Slovak currency ceases to exist, talks will have to be launched immediately on exchange rates, payments and accounting. He said a unilateral step in this direction would not be reasonable. If it is necessary to use stamped banknotes, their value or exchange rate will not change, Meciar said.

NBS Holds First Session; Members Appointed*AU0901150593 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Jan 93 p 13*

[TA SR report: "A Monetary Program"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak National Bank [NBS] Banking Council held its first session yesterday, and in view of the implementation of the monetary agreements between the Czech and Slovak Republics, approved the fundamental aims for its 1993 monetary program. It agreed on the principles for the course of action to be pursued by the Slovak members of the Monetary Committee, which will meet for the first time in Brno on 8 January, and also on a system of monetary instruments for 1993. The Council set the discount interest rate at 9.5 percent and the Lombard rate at 14 percent. The Slovak Government has appointed the following Banking Council members: Engineer Marian Tkac, deputy governor entrusted with running the NBS; Engineer Marian Jusko, NBS deputy governor; Engineer Vladislav Bachar; Associate Professor Engineer Jozef Makuch; and Engineer Jan Matl.

Spokesman Views Foreign Policy 1993 Prospects

AU1201122993 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9
Jan 93 p 8

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "We Have To Sail in Rough Seas—Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman on Hungarian Diplomatic Prospects in 1993"]

[Text] Moving toward West European integration remains the focus of Hungarian diplomacy. Budapest is aware that the EC has certain problems. However, it is hoped at Bem Square [Foreign Ministry] that more attention will be given to the Central European countries at the forthcoming summit in Copenhagen. The south Slav crisis also has its impact on the new year, but we would like to hope that it will be possible to stop the bloodshed. Understandably, Hungarian foreign policy pays close attention to the fate of Hungarian minorities living beyond our borders. Hungary strives for good relations with the neighboring countries but it does not do this by ignoring the Hungarians living there. There is a six-party consensus on the basic goals of Hungarian foreign policy. Janos Herman emphasized these issues when, at the beginning of the year, we interviewed him on Hungarian diplomatic prospects and expectations in 1993.

[Herman] If there is an area where it is impossible to make exact predictions, it is foreign policy. There are manifold interests and various forces behind them at the same time. We have to navigate in occasionally rough seas and we cannot calm the sea on our own. We have to recognize the possibilities and the dangers in time because this is essential if we want to make use of the real possibilities. Our intentions and efforts are known and there will be no change in these. We can rightly expect that a Hungary that maintains its stability will get even closer to the European organizations of integration, that our bilateral relations will further strengthen, and that we can contribute to resolving or alleviating the crises in our immediate area and to making human and minority rights prevail more consistently.

Moving toward West European integration continues to be the focus of Hungarian foreign policy. This mainly means the EC, and our associate agreement with this organization is expected to become effective from the middle of the year. Increasingly, the main question is to what extent we can make use of the political and economic possibilities provided by the agreement and how we can meet the requirements resulting from this. This is an unavoidable, but not an easy, task. We have to make further progress on the way to full EC membership.

It is known that the EC itself is struggling with problems. However, I hope that, in a clearer situation, they will deal with the situation of the Central European countries in greater detail at the forthcoming summit in Copenhagen.

We consider the activities of NATO and our relations with NATO very important. This year, the main forum of cooperation will remain the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

Preparations for the 1994 CSCE summit and follow-up meeting will begin as early as the beginning of this year. The CSCE also has to adjust to changed circumstances, and this cannot happen overnight. We expect the organization's work to become more effective especially in the areas of crisis prevention and crisis management and, partly related to these, in helping human rights prevail.

We will continue to be a member of the UN Security Council in 1993. All this ensures good opportunities for Hungarian diplomacy. The United Nations is also in the process of change, it is taking an increasing role, mainly in peacekeeping. At the end of 1992, the General Assembly passed the statement on the rights of national minorities and we hope that this will help to improve their situation.

[Decsi] This issue mainly affects our region at the moment. How is it possible to help the situation of the Hungarian minorities beyond our borders while not making the given states feel that this is interference in their internal affairs?

[Herman] In these cases, we must see if this feeling is justified. The issue of national minorities is not exclusively a domestic affair. There are two simultaneous tasks, namely we must foster bilateral relations and we must not forget about the Hungarians living beyond our borders. In my view, it is not correct to set these two tasks against each other. They must and can only be resolved together. Good bilateral relations can create better possibilities in the issue of national minorities and vice versa. Ukraine or Croatia are good examples of this.

We must also make our other partners understand this. However, Hungarian diplomacy is incapable of doing this on its own. The risks resulting from the fact that this whole group of issues is unresolved must be made more obvious on an international level. I can see progress in this area. Precisely by investigating the lessons of the crises in our region, the West European countries can see increasingly clearly that further steps are needed. We expect this attitude will lead to further practical steps in such valuable organizations as the Council of Europe.

Hungary will not give up helping the national minorities living beyond its borders in the future, either. Without exception, the Hungarian minorities say that they want to have the internationally accepted rights that apply to them within the framework of the given countries. We are not speaking instead of them in 1993, either, and we say the same to the international forums and to the neighboring countries. Although we have some reason to worry, we hope that our policies will have further tangible results this year. It is perfectly obvious that it is impossible to maintain undisturbed bilateral relations by

excluding the national minorities and conducting political affairs above their heads.

[Decsi] However, we are witnessing tense relations with both Slovakia and Romania.

[Herman] Both occasional tensions and the possibility of development are present at the same time. Obviously, every sign shows that, seen in a broader context, this will be a long process. Slovakia is a new country. We have inherited problems, like the Bos-Nagymaros issue. The decisive thing now is the extent to which the Slovak side will implement its intention to settle these problems in a mutually acceptable way as soon as possible. The fate of the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia is also important. Slovak-Hungarian relations will inevitably have an impact on the Visegrad cooperation, because the passionate Slovak rhetoric and the unsettled issues of our bilateral relations are hindering our joint multilateral activity. We want to maintain and develop this cooperation according to the new situation.

[Decsi] Can we expect improvement in Hungarian-Romanian relations?

[Herman] There was some progress in some areas in the past year, and several promising signs have emerged in recent weeks. The atmosphere has improved. The new Romanian foreign minister, Teodor Melescanu, knows the Central European region and the Hungarian-Romanian relations well. It would be a positive thing if this progress were to manifest itself in deeds already at the beginning of this year. Meetings at various levels could also take place. However, it also applies here that we will not carry this out above the heads of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

[Decsi] Can we expect any changes in Hungarian-Russian relations after President Yeltsin's visit?

[Herman] I regard the agreements achieved in the course of Russian President Yeltsin's visit as one of the great successes of Hungarian foreign policy in 1992. I definitely hope that the practical implementation of these agreements will take place this year, and this will lead to the development of Hungarian-Russian relations.

[Decsi] What about the Yugoslav crisis? Will 1993 bring a solution?

[Herman] I am reluctant to say it, but we will probably be speaking about this at this time next year, too. However, I hope we will speak about this differently at the time; that is, I hope that we will succeed in putting an end to this senseless bloodshed, and negotiations will play the major role.

International political factors are extremely divided regarding the concrete steps in this matter. A desperate race against time is taking place on several levels. A limited military intervention might become inevitable. In my opinion, the real question is how to bring about a durable situation in which the peoples in the former Yugoslavia live in peace and tranquility.

Hungary continues to distance itself from this conflict. However, we would like to play an active role in settling this conflict. We very much hope that the situation of the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina will improve this year, and their ideas will also be considered in any settlement.

[Decsi] Changes will also take place in the United States in 1993. What does the Hungarian diplomacy count on?

[Herman] We can be sure that Hungarian-U.S. relations will continue to develop after the inauguration of the new president, and this process will also gain new elements. I say this on the basis of the fact that several Hungarian politicians held talks with the president-elect's staff, and all of them had good impressions.

[Decsi] There is a six-party consensus on the basic goals of our foreign policy. At the same time, proposals and initiatives are made even in international forums about which the officials making these proposals failed to previously inform the Hungarian Foreign Ministry officials. Are these two things compatible?

[Herman] Consensus does not mean that we agree on every issue and everyone acts in unison. There is complete agreement on basic goals, and this must also continue in 1993. However, opinions can differ on the ways of implementation and the timing of some steps. This is natural, just like the fact that there are differences in the role of Parliament, the political parties, and the government, and we must make use of every possibility.

Comments on Romanian Relations

LD1201232293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman by unidentified correspondent, place not given—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Now you will hear a conversation with Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman. The Romanian paper DIMINEATA described the interview that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall gave to the program "World Clock" on Hungarian Radio as a veritable declaration of war against Romania and Yugoslavia. [passage omitted] The commentary in the Romanian paper took particular objection to that part of the Antall statement that dealt with Hungarian cultural and territorial autonomy. From it the editorial concluded, as it were, that this is the first step toward the Hungarian Republic trying to annex [bekebelez] the Hungarian-inhabited regions in Romania. [passage omitted] What would this Hungarian concept of autonomy mean, (according) to the Hungarian Government?

[Herman] The Hungarian Government does not have a concrete concept in relation to this. Our starting point is that we do not want to speak for the minorities, that the Hungarian minorities concerned should themselves shape their concepts. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Lately, there have been several initiatives from the Romanian side, letters have been exchanged, in the interest of improving relations with Hungary. What can you, as Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman, say about this?

[Herman] The exchange of letters was an important event. If we look back to what happened in Hungarian-Romanian relations in recent months, then we can justifiably say that this was one of the most important events. We all know that there has been a change of government in Romania. In the person of Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, a personality has come to the head of Romanian diplomacy who knows the region very well and who also knows Hungarian-Romanian relations very well. And, I think that a certain change, a certain modification can be experienced in the official Romanian stance. It was in the spirit of this that the exchange of letters took place between Foreign Ministers Melescanu and Jeszenszky. I feel that there is now a possibility for concrete progress in Hungarian-Romanian relations. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] From the Romanian side, if I am right, they are now urging a meeting at quite a high level. You did not mention this now.

[Herman] What I can talk about now and what I will talk about—I will say so honestly—is that which can be foreseen. [passage omitted] As for the foreign ministerial meeting, I repeat, its task will obviously be to lay down those results that incidentally have today not yet been attained.

[Correspondent] Can I understand your words to mean that if the foreign ministerial meeting is successful, then the way will open for a high-level meeting between the heads of government?

[Herman] It could be interpreted in this way as well, but I think that what is more important than this is that in the coming months, we should strive to achieve absolutely concrete, tangible results in the practical work. Incidentally, the Hungarian side has never shied away from this kind of higher level meeting either. But, we have always said that it has to be prepared in an appropriate manner. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What are the issues awaiting solution, which have to be discussed and brought forward?

[Herman] It is difficult to list them all. There are some matters which, one can now say, have been unresolved for years. Of this type are many issues connected with the situation of the minorities. For the most part, these are naturally the demands of the minorities. We cannot negotiate over the heads of the minorities. In other words, we have to take their opinion into consideration. And apart from this, it is also very important to note that unless this issue is resolved, only illusory results would be achieved. So, these are the issues connected with the minorities' cultural rights, with education in their native language. But such too is the issue of the Hungarian chief

consulate in Cluj-Napoca [Hung Kolozsvár]. No matter how carefully one tries to put it, it has to be said clearly that it is very hard to imagine any substantive progress if the atmosphere is such that the official representatives of the neighboring country regard with a kind of fear the idea that there might be a Hungarian chief consulate anywhere in Romania, especially when in the area of economic relations and travel, there are a great many developments that undoubtedly justify our wish to maintain one. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The elaboration of the basic agreement of the two countries is under way. What stage is this in, and what are the disputed issues there?

[Herman] There have already been several rounds of talks. We may say that about three quarters of the text of the basic agreement has been completed; and it has been completed for a fairly long time. There are two main issues in which serious work lies ahead. One of them is the chapter connected with the rights of ethnic minorities, the other is the one that is demanded by the Romanian side, and we do not turn a deaf ear to it at all, namely that in some form, this agreement should also state that the two countries respect the Helsinki principles, that is, they do not have territorial demands vis-a-vis each other. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] At the beginning of our conversation, you described the exchange of letters as a favorable sign. [passage omitted] Can we possibly say or suppose that there is a certain kind of tactic, that this is a division of labor: the foreign minister says this, the president and his circle say that? Or possibly what it could be is that within the Romanian leadership, the relations with Hungary and the problems of the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania are seen in two ways.

[Herman] I do not know, I simply cannot tell you exactly. It is certain that there are various stances in Romania as well regarding the key issues of foreign policy. Naturally, it is also certain that they endeavour to coordinate the whole activity, to tie it to a unified line, especially the practical activity, as much as possible. [passage omitted] Very often, the local authorities take measures that run counter to the warm winds. Of course, we primarily have to rely on the facts as a starting point, nothing else can be done; it would be unwise to form an unambiguous opinion for the long term on the basis of this or that statement. [passage omitted]

Jeszenszky on State's International Reputation

LD1201220193 Budapest MTI in English 2123 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 12 (MTI)—"Hungary's Reputation in the World" was the title of a lecture delivered by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on Tuesday [12 January] in Budapest, as the guest speaker of the Academy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Discussing Hungary's international evaluation, Jeszenszky recalled that the world was unified in its enthusiasm for Hungary at the turn of 1988-89, however, the division of the opposition of the time put an end to this from the autumn of 1989. The greater part of the international public favoured the forces which form the opposition of the government today.

According to the foreign minister, the main reason for this was that the democratic opposition, which consists of disillusioned Marxists and reform communists, created extremely good relations with the West. The first articles about anti-Semitism in Hungary appeared in the international press at that time, the autumn of 1989. This, according to the foreign minister, came as a surprise for the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

The next milestone in the deterioration of Hungary's evaluation was the storm that broke out following the publication of former Hungarian Democratic Forum vice-president Istvan Csurka's paper in the summer of 1992, which dealt with the change in political system in Hungary. In this context, Jeszenszky said the study—of which only a small part was highlighted by the international press—elicited a disproportionately great reaction, one far beyond its significance. All the same, there is hope that the issue will die down. The international public has already recognized it had over-estimated the danger, and under-estimated the moderateness of the Hungarian people.

All in all, Jeszenszky said Hungary's reputation abroad is not bad. The foreign minister recommended soberness and level-headedness as the strategy to be followed by society. "We should not risk our results, and should safeguard our good reputation," Jeszenszky said.

Following the foreign minister's lecture, several speakers sharply criticized the Hungarian opposition who—in their view—"give rise to the bad reputation of Hungarians abroad". One contributor criticized Tom Lantos, the American congressman of Hungarian origin. In the contributor's view, "Lantos did more to harm the reputation of Hungarians than did Istvan Csurka".

Reacting to the remarks made about Tom Lantos, Foreign Minister Jeszenszky cautioned against rash verdicts. He recalled that the Hungary debate initiated by Lantos in the US Congress was, in totality, of a constructive nature, and did not harm Hungary's good reputation.

"Apart from this, Tom Lantos plays an extremely significant role in continuously focusing attention on the situation of the Central-European minorities. It is of particular importance for Hungary that he raised his voice in defence of the rights of ethnic Hungarians in Romania. Tom Lantos represents many good causes, and it is important for Hungary to have as many friends as possible," Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said.

Defense Minister on New Defense Laws, Maneuvers

LD1201205093 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 12 (MTI)—A new defence law may soon be approved, alongside a bill clarifying soldiers' legal status, Defence Minister Lajos Fur told the press on Tuesday [12 January] during the current Kapos '93 military exercise in the Bakony Mountains.

Fur said the defence bill will be submitted in the January 14 session, the bill on the legal status of soldiers being prepared in parallel. The minister hopes Parliament will discuss and approve both bills in the spring.

Steps aimed at modernising the Hungarian Army's organisation were also discussed at the press conference. These include the setting up of "rapidly mobilisable companies with air transport".

Employing soldiers under fixed-term contracts also came up. Participating generals thought a 60-40 per cent ratio of contract to salaried soldiers would work well in certain units.

With Colonel-General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian Army, the minister of defence spoke appreciatively of the military exercise in progress involving some 2,000 soldiers, 77 tanks and armoured vehicles, and 380 non-armoured vehicles.

The exercise, between January 10 and 14, is led by Lieutenant-General Bela Gyuricza, commander of land forces.

Interior Official Views Election Law Modification

AU1301094393 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Jan 93 p 5

["L.K."- signed interview with Interior Ministry Deputy State Secretary Istvan Zsuffa; place and date not given: "Only Citizens Can Have the Right To Vote"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [MAGYAR HIRLAP] When did the question of the right to vote for Hungarian citizens living abroad emerge for the first time?

[Zsuffa] Statements appeared in the press last year about the need to examine the possibility of guaranteeing the right to vote for Hungarian citizens living abroad. Regulations regarding the right to vote and the implementation of government tasks connected to general elections belong to our sphere of activity and, thus, we are obliged to consider the various proposals. Thus, a committee of experts is examining whether it is justified to put this issue on the agenda and, if so, what answers can be given.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What are the conclusions?

[Zsuffa] We have not yet made any specific steps because the government has not yet taken any stand regarding this issue. When a decision is made, we can start working

out the law modification that will be discussed by the cabinet, followed by the six-party coordination. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In the experts' views, what circle of Hungarians living abroad will be granted the right to vote?

[Zsuffa] There are serious misinterpretations in this respect because the right to vote is exclusively a citizen's right, and only Hungarian citizens living abroad, rather than Hungarians abroad, can have this right. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is it possible that the political decision will stipulate that every Hungarian should receive the right to vote?

[Zsuffa] I think that, in this respect, only Hungarian citizens stationed or living abroad can be included here.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] When can we expect a modification in the law?

[Zsuffa] If the political leadership wants to enable the Hungarian citizens living abroad to vote in next year's elections, this law modification has to be carried out this year because the preparation of elections takes several months.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] How many people could be affected by the change?

[Zsuffa] We do not have exact numbers but, in my opinion, there cannot be more than a few tens of thousands of people. [passage omitted]

Csurka Views Results of National MDF Meeting

AU1201140893 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jan 93 p 5

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), by Pal Szombathy; place and date not given: "My Party Chairman Candidacy in This Form Is Not Serious"]

[Text] [Szombathy] What is your opinion about Saturday's [9 January] meeting in view of the lines of power that emerged there?

[Csurka] Intentions and efforts, rather than lines of power, emerged there. The demand for renewal was the common denominator, and an undiminished willingness to implement the original Lakitelek program of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF].

[Szombathy] Was there anything at stake at this national MDF meeting, and if so, what was it?

[Csurka] Of course there was, because the popular-national circle and its electoral basis are the strongest advocates of the MDF program, of the program of change in the regime. Our debates with our own liberals perhaps focus precisely on ways to implement this

change in the regime. In this respect, this demonstration of great power made it clear how many people regard themselves as part of this circle. Obviously, all this means a lot for the preparation of the national congress and its decisions.

[Szombathy] In your opinion, what is the extent of the participation and presence of this popular-national faction within the MDF as a whole?

[Csurka] I would not like to put numbers to it, but I see that there are always so many people at these meetings, and not only the embittered older generation, as many people claim maliciously, but also intellectual forces.

[Szombathy] At the meeting on Saturday, you spoke ambiguously about your candidacy as party chairman: You spoke of incorrectness and conditions. Would you formulate things more precisely?

[Csurka] I think I formulated this properly: I cannot be fooled so easily. I rejected this candidacy in front of this audience here and now, because I cannot accept this under such conditions. In order to consider myself a candidate for the position of party chairman, I should publish a new MDF program or a program modification, and I should also present it to the party members and show them the changes that would occur in the party's ways if they elected me.

[Szombathy] What did you mean by saying that the opposition should now be called an enemy?

[Csurka] I do not think that this needs explanation. The book *Kirekesztok* is a defamation of and affront to the Hungarian nation and Hungarian literature, and no similar offense has ever been committed. I appear in a book with people who were hanged and with the greatest people in our history being disgraced, such as Laszlo Nemeth.

[Szombathy] After all this, how should you communicate with the enemy?

[Csurka] I do not know. This is not my task. I have never been famous for my desire to communicate with this opposition. I also withdrew from the legislation of the media law and thus from the activity of the Cultural Committee because, from the very beginning, I saw that the opposition was not interested in this and that there would never be a law with their cooperation. The opposition has exclusive control of almost everything in the mass media, and this situation suits them quite well.

[Szombathy] In connection with the media affair, [former Hungarian Television Chairman Elemer] Hankis said that your scenario emerged in the government. You did not want a law, so no law was passed. Even the heads of Hungarian Television were taken away by policemen....

[Csurka] All this is nothing but lies. No one was taken away by any policemen, and I have never said such a thing. What I said was that one should use the full

severity of the law, including police methods, against those who break the law. This is a totally constitutional position. Therefore, Hankiss is using clever tactics, and not for the first time or for the last time, and not alone: He wants to accuse the entire government of being extreme right-wing and make the world believe that an extreme right trend is taking control of the Hungarian Government. This required a prevention campaign carried out against me, in which they tried to make a part of the public believe that I am an extremist. It is strange that, as a trained sociologist, Elemer Hankiss used such kindergarten methods.

[Szombathy] What methods could the Hungarian Way use to help the government and the MDF get rid of the communist nomenklatura, as you demand?

[Csurka] I want the Hungarian Way to flourish in the next elections. I want to make sure that no communist gets into Parliament. If I succeed in this, there will be a totally different atmosphere in this country. After the next term of Parliament, we can consider broadening our democracy and allowing those who still regard themselves as communists after four years to return. However, I think it is extremely dangerous when some people have the right and the opportunity to call themselves either socialists or members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], or social democrats or liberals, and continuously change their image and interfere with the nation's life.

[Szombathy] At the end of your speech, you said that your speech would obviously stir up a great storm. Did Jozsef Antall's address confirm this?

[Csurka] There are opposite elements in our thinking, and this has never been in doubt. However, this should not hinder the unity of the MDF and should not lead to a break within the party. The fact that the two speeches had similar elements was a positive thing. The lines of thought were quite similar in many respects. Jozsef Antall focused on the government's achievements; recognizing these achievements, I pointed out the disadvantages of various agreements, disadvantages that we will have to eliminate. I would like to do this in the next elections, by legal means, by a vote.

[Szombathy] Could the prime minister's position as party chairman be questioned at the forthcoming national conference?

[Csurka] I do not think that the national conference will question this. However, such a 100 percent formulation frightens me, because this is impossible in a democracy.

'National Party of Hungarian Mothers' Established

AU1101133593 Budapest MTI in English 1009 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, 8 Jan (MTI)—In a move to represent the interests of mothers and families and lobby for creating better conditions for full-time motherhood, a National Party of Hungarian Mothers (NPHM) has been established in Papa, in western Hungary.

It also aims to restore the prestige and responsibility of fathers as heads of families. Men who agree with these ideas are also expected to join.

Chairwoman Agnes Sokoray, 34, told MTI they had formed NPHM because almost all political parties only went as far as promising to represent mothers and family interests, but did nothing.

The new party gives priority to creating the moral and financial conditions necessary to promote full-time motherhood.

The party proposes that children up to the age of three should get free medicine, and clothes at wholesale prices. Also, mothers should be allowed to stay at home until children reach 10 years of age and receive a sum equivalent to the subsistence wage for each child.

Sokoray added that the party was open to ethnic Hungarians from abroad.

The NPHW was registered with the Veszprem County Court some days ago. The logo of the party depicts two female hands holding a heart and a crown on a green shield.

At present, there are 84 political parties in Hungary. Six of them have significant parliamentary representation. Three of these belong to the governing coalition—the Hungarian Democratic Forum, Independent Smallholders' Party and Christian Democratic People's Party—and three to the opposition—the Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungarian Socialist Party, Federation of Young Democrats.

TV Carries Walesa-Clinton Phone Conversation

WS1301125993 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2005 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Telephone call between President Lech Walesa and President-elect Bill Clinton on 12 January; Clinton speaks in English with passage by passage translation into Polish—recorded]

[Text] [Walesa] Greetings to you, Mr. President.

[Clinton] Thank you, I'm glad to hear your voice.

[Walesa] Mr. President, you will soon take the helm of a superpower. It is very important not only for the United States but also for Europe and for the entire world. As you know, Europe is undergoing very important transformations. It is hard to imagine these transformations and the success of these transformations without a U.S. presence. We have achieved peaceful transformation. We have changed the borders of countries. However, Europe is at a very delicate moment in our history. We must do something about our economy. Poland is beginning to see reform's effects; however, anything remains possible. Mr. President, that is why I implore that you participate in this historic moment for Europe militarily and economically. I need not repeat that Poland has had very good U.S. relations for decades. Many Poles fought for an independent United States, and many Poles are helping to construct it. That is why we deeply believe that U.S. participation will measure up to these great transformations. That is why I hope for understanding and participation, because Europe has often made many mistakes without the United States. This is my introduction, Mr. President.

[Clinton] Thank you very much. First, let me say it is a great honor for me to be speaking with you, President Walesa. I honor your contribution to the birth of freedom in Europe. You have created a model for the peaceful transition from communism to democracy and free market. Last October, I gave a statement to the Polish-American Congress reaffirming my commitment to the special friendship between the United States and Poland. I want to now reaffirm to you the commitment of the United States to Poland's political and economic transformation. I want to assure you that I will continue to give real attention to the relationships between our two countries, as well as to the other matters in Europe about which you spoke.

[Walesa] Mr. President, I thank you very much. I want to draw attention to the fact that until now we had two contradictory blocks which, in a way, disciplined each other. Of course, the communist block has disintegrated. We are at a period of great construction in which the United States is indispensable to Europe, because this is the moment not only of great possibilities but also of great danger. This is why we need stability. We even need the stability of a great superpower to be able to proceed peacefully along the way which is the only way. However, we need economic successes. We have already

had them in Poland, thanks to the United States and other countries. However, we need U.S. patronage over Poland and Europe for a few more years. Europe has often made very grave mistakes in its history, and it can make another mistake today. We now have only one great power on the battlefield, and you are at its helm. Of course, I am convinced that you will measure up to the challenges of the times and that we will make the world better and safer. I hope that you succeed and realize the great responsibility you must bear. You can count on Poland and Poles.

[Clinton] Thank you so much, Mr. President. Again, I want to say this is a great honor for me to be able to discuss these matters with you today. I look forward to working with you. I will stay involved with Europe. The United States will do what we can to support this great transformation and to make sure that it comes out in a way that you and I both want it to.

[Walesa] Mr. President. I have a lot of issues to raise, but I do not want to take your time with them right now. I do hope that life will present us with the possibility to discuss them in detail. I would like to invite you to Poland. I do hope that you will take me up on that invitation.

[Clinton] Thank you so much. I hope I will be able to do that. I have really benefited, as I am sure you know, by an enormous amount of support from the Polish-American community, and I am very much interested in what you are doing. I hope I can come and visit, but let me say that I hope, too, you will always feel free to speak with me at any time of the day or night. I would love to hear from you by telephone. I can always be reached, and I really support what you are trying to do. Let me also tell you that I talked just a couple of days ago with your friend, Lane Kirkland, the president of the labor movement here in America, and he was very excited that I was going to speak with you, and he has spoken so well of you in the past, I wanted to give his regards to you also and I look forward to talking with you again soon.

[Walesa] Thank you very much, Mr. President. I would like to wish all the best to your Presidency...

[Clinton, interrupting] Thank you very much, Mr. President.

[Walesa] God bless America! Goodbye, Mr. President.

[Clinton] Goodbye. Thank you.

IMF To Defer Agreement Until 1993 Budget Passed

LD1301122993 Warsaw PAP in English 1143 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Washington, Jan. 13—Agreement between Poland and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is to be postponed until such time as the 1993 budget is

finally approved by the Polish Parliament, IMF sources revealed in Washington on Tuesday [12 January] evening.

A letter of intent between Poland and the IMF was drawn up in November 1992, on the basis of which Poland would gain access to IMF loans totalling 700 million dollars. It had been expected that the IMF board would begin final discussions later this week on the text. However, in the light of amendments imposed by parliament on the government draft, both sides have come to the joint conclusion that the IMF decision should be deferred until the budget law is finally passed.

Recent Sejm amendments, most importantly a decision to impose lower VAT [value-added tax] rates on fuel and energy payments, have led many commentators to doubt whether the 81 trillion zloty (5 billion dollars) estimate of the 1993 deficit is now realistic. The Polish Finance Ministry estimates that the proposed VAT changes would add 6 trillion zlotys to the deficit.

If approved in its present form, the letter of intent commits the Polish Government to restrict the 1993 budget deficit to 5 percent of GDP [gross domestic product], and to keep inflation below 32 percent.

Agreement with the IMF is essential if Poland is to be able to recommence negotiations with the Paris and London Clubs of its foreign creditors on further debt relief.

Book Alleges Walesa Wanted Nuclear Warheads

AU1201145293 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
8 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by Ewa K. Czackowska: "June Frauds, Or Goodbye To A Myth"]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Wachowski, a Security Service agent; Lech Walesa wanting to buy nuclear warheads from Ukraine—these are some of the revelations in the latest book by Jacek Kurski and Piotr Semka called *June Frauds* [Lewy Czerwcowy] published by Editions Spotkania. Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski says that there is no documentary evidence for the material presented in the book.

A promotional meeting for the book was held at the headquarters of the Christian-Democratic Labor Party on Thursday [7 January], attended by four of the men who are interviewed in it: Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Antoni Macierewicz, Jan Parys, and Adam Glapinski. Only Grzegorz Koszrzewa-Zorbas was missing. These are people who have held important state posts within the past two years. The authors describe them as personifications of the end of the Walesa myth.

The leading idea in the book is that Walesa has betrayed the program he pursued before he became president, as well as the people who voted for him. As evidence of this, the authors interview people who until very recently held

influential state posts and who describe "dangers in five spheres that are crucial to Polish sovereignty—the democratic order, the army, the economy, foreign policy, and internal security." The authors say in their foreword that in all these five spheres, any changes implemented by the interviewees were opposed by the Belweder [presidential residence].

June Frauds contains several pieces of sensationalism. Jaroslaw Kaczynski, until November 1991 chairman of the Presidential Chancellery, officially states for the first time that Mieczyslaw Wachowski, the present chief of the Chancellery, was a Security Service agent and that from January to August 1975 he attended an officers course at the Academy of Internal Affairs in Swider, near Otwock, in the company of men from the Citizens Militia and Security Service. Kaczynski provides biographical information on the course leaders and students. What is more, he claims that Walesa has admitted to him that Wachowski was an agent.

During a promotion, Kaczynski said that he does not fear a libel action against him. "I must have something more up my sleeve if I am taken to court," he said.

In the book, Kaczynski also relates several interesting, though controversial, ideas. For example, he says that the authorities were behind the strikes in 1988, and actually started them. The purpose of this was to enforce changes and eliminate Solidarity. He says that Lech Walesa himself was involved in this process, and that he "deliberately refused to tour Poland in case he merely fanned the flames." He speaks of a secret "roundtable" agreement whereby Walesa let the communist nomenclatura retain property and economic power in return for political authority. He accuses Walesa of deliberately slowing down the changes and of treating the "roundtable" talks not as pure tactics, as they should have been treated, but as a Finlandization of Poland. "The Belweder's policies do not serve to strengthen Poland," Kaczynski says.

Jan Parys, defense minister in the Olszewski Government, says in *June Frauds* that Lech Walesa wanted to purchase nuclear weapons from Ukraine. On 8 January, Parys said at the headquarters of the Labor Party that Rear Admiral Czeslaw Wawrzyniak, chief of the Military Information Service, once paid him a visit with a message from the president ordering the purchase of nuclear weapons. Wawrzyniak asked for \$100 million for this purpose because that was the price demanded by "dealers," adding that "we will not pay in any case because our commandos will jump out of the bushes and chase the dealers away, and we will grab the warheads."

Parys said he was revealing this information only because of the adoption of the Small Constitution which has considerably increased the powers of the president. Otherwise he would have kept quiet.

Asked whether it is true that Minister Wachowski is a Security Service agent, Presidential Spokesman Andrzej

Drzycimski said that "the latest sensations have one thing in common—they are not backed up by any documentary evidence."

"The frustration and imagination of has-been politicians is spreading at the same speed as society's disapproval of their activities," said Drzycimski. "The seeking of petty sensations is placing them in the same category as the authors of cheap science fiction. The sad thing is that those who had their chance to do something good for Poland are now trying to attract attention by claiming to possess sensational material."

Asked whether Minister Wachowski or President Walesa intend to bring charges of libel, Drzycimski replied: "Does a pedestrian take any notice of the insects crawling in the cracks in the pavement?"

Milczanowski Rejects Charges

LD1201204593 Warsaw PAP in English 1932 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 12—Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski on Tuesday [12 January] came to the defence of Mieczyslaw Wachowski, head of President Lech Walesa's office, with an official statement that Wachowski did not attend an Interior Ministry training course for secret service officers in 1975.

In his declaration, Milczanowski states that, following an investigation in the Interior Ministry archives, "I certify that Mr. Mieczyslaw Wachowski, currently secretary of state and head of the presidential office, did not participate in any training course (for police and secret service officers in the 1970's - ed. note)."

Milczanowski's declaration follows a statement on Monday from Wachowski in which he rejected allegations from right-wing politicians that he had collaborated with the security forces of the Communist Polish People's Republic, and called on the Interior Ministry to help clear his name.

Olechowski Outlines Economic Growth Policy

AU1201164193 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA Economy and Market Supplement in Polish 6 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by Andrzej Olechowski, economics adviser to the Polish president: "The Goal Is Rapid Economic Growth"]

[Text] After three years of recession, 1992 saw the first signs of economic growth. In 1993, the gross domestic product should increase by between 2 and 3 percent. For the years after 1993, the government is planning on a high level of activity that will result in the doubling of the gross domestic product at the beginning of next century. If the gross domestic product begins to grow by 8 percent annually in 1994, it will double in 2002. The task is not an excessive one—economic history knows many examples of long periods of high growth.

Rapid economic growth should become our goal and challenge. Other tasks should be subordinated to it, and every action that is taken should be checked every time to determine whether it serves rapid growth or is an obstacle to it.

Growth is the aggregate of microeconomic decisions made by people who want to become wealthier and see an opportunity of becoming so. Thus, growth is not accomplished by the state but by individuals. The state's task is to create appropriate conditions. In other words, the level and structure production should be determined by market forces. The state, on the other hand, should ensure a framework for the play of market forces and remove factors that distort competition. To achieve a high and lasting rate of growth, it is necessary to ensure the following conditions above all:

Stable and Credible Policy

Being able to predict the future level of market parameters is of fundamental significance for economic activity. It is necessary to at least know the cost of money, the price of foreign currencies and of labor, and the level of taxation for a period of three to five years. Today, there is an insufficient basis for accurate forecasts: Government plans cover a year at most. Decisions are made suddenly and often do not accord with what has been previously announced. So far, the justification for this kind of conduct was the exceptional situation in which we found ourselves. However, the new system has been functioning for three years, and that has already furnished a certain amount of experience enabling the government to formulate long-term undertakings, so that it can extend the timeframe of decisions determining conditions for the economic activity.

The government and the central bank must also develop a financial services market that will produce a long-term interest rate and the possibility to obtain safeguards against exchange rates shifts. Without that, 1993 will be the fifth year that will see a drop in investment, which will destroy hopes of lasting growth.

The conditions for economic activity created by the state must be credible. Today, they are not. Political instability means that extraordinary actions are needed to convince those running that economy that the main principles of policy are permanent and independent of political changes. A common effort is needed on the part of all centers of power: the president, the government, and parliament. They should intensify efforts to conclude a social pact on the basic directions of reform. It is time to tie the fate of parties and politicians responsible for the economy to the results of their promises and forecasts.

Ensuring Order and Integrity

A condition for high and lasting economic activity is lucid, comprehensive principles for the functioning of the marketplace, stability in the regulations governing those principles, certainty that they are being observed

by all. The situation today is very bad: Regulations are incomplete, outdated, changed from one day to the next, arbitrarily applied by the administration, which does not have clear decisionmaking procedures, and widely circumvented. This results in losses for consumers, honest entrepreneurs, and discourages investment.

To change this state of affairs, the following are necessary:

- legislative actions that will complete the regulations governing competition, commercial integrity, reprivatization, and the discharge of obligations;
- a reform of the administration aimed at speeding up the decisions that it makes and making the more objective;
- actions to ensure that regulations are observed, especially those pertaining to customs, taxation, and guarantees.

Consistent Privatization

High growth will not be possible without energetic, consistent privatization that improves the efficiency of the economy. Today, privatization is often perceived as being conducted in accordance with incomprehensible criteria, the selling off of national assets, to which only financial elites and chance persons have access. As a result, it arouses suspicion, animosity, and even fear. For this state of affairs to change, privatization must proceed openly—it must be viewed as a chance for everyone.

The sale of small and medium-sized plants must be completed as quickly as possible and the resistance of local and central authorities must be overcome. Employees and entrepreneurs who want to acquire them but lack sufficient capital should be granted loans. Finally, a start must be made on mass privatization. It is of historic significance—the attitudes typical of “communist” state employees will persist as long as the majority of Poles do not own parts of the economy. It is necessary to use public funds to create institutions that will support small and medium-sized businesses with finance and advice.

Active Participation in Investment and Restructuring

One task for the state is to create material conditions for development. Today, it is a marginal investor. It is necessary to define the investments that are desirable and the way in which they are to be financed. The state's interest should be focused on the development of the infrastructure, the elimination of unemployment, technological innovation, adapting to the EEC, the improvement of the natural environment, saving energy, and the development of tourism.

An active attitude on the part of the state is also necessary within the restructuring process. Some sectors of the economy will not be able to make necessary adjustments without assistance; the readjustment of mining, the iron and steel industry, the defense industry

and agriculture will take longer and be more costly without the active participation of the state. Similarly, the readjustment efforts of many enterprises will be thwarted if the state does not provide assistance in dealing with the consequences of past conditions and decisions—unproductive assets and liabilities.

The Price of Labor and Its Quality

A basic condition for rapid growth is to maintain the rate at which the price of labor increases at a level that does not exceed the increase in productivity. It is the state's task to ensure that working pays, that it is not possible to achieve a comparable income without working. It is necessary to reform the regulations governing pay, to create conditions for systems that reward true effort. The disincentive effect of taxation and contributions burdening wages must be diminished. Benefits for people who are temporarily or permanently without work must be significantly lower than wages and be based not only on needs, but also on the state's financial means. Wages in the state sector must be subordinated to mechanisms that will limit their growth to a level that allows the owner to obtain an income and provides the plant with funds for development.

The state, too, should initiate and coordinate actions that will raise the quality of work, promote a work ethic, and condemn parasitical attitudes.

An Open Economy

An average-size economy cannot grow rapidly in isolation. Sealing off an economy permits faulty market relations to function and leads to lasting, costly deformations of the economy's structure. The opening up of the Polish economy is all the more important, because it does not possess the capital and technology necessary for rapid growth. Credible guarantees of the open character of the system are needed, regarding the flow of both goods and services and capital. Import policy must be stable, changes in import duty levels, taxes, and other conditions of trade cannot be introduced without being announced significantly sooner than has been the case until now. The National Bank of Poland should announce a timeframe for the liberalization of currency regulations. The procedures for foreign investment must be improved. A great effort has to be made to promote Polish investment abroad and promote foreign investors in the eyes of Polish public opinion.

Improving the Quality of Life

The population's income will improve along with growth, and so will its quality of life. The number of unemployed will decline. However, that improvement will not be so rapid that it satisfies expectations and a favorable, conflict free climate for development. Actions are needed that will improve the quality of life, which is today widely regarded as low, especially as an increase in wealth will neither promote such actions or be a substitute for them. Four actions seem to be particularly important. The first are institutional changes that will

increase the financial independence of local communities. The second is the creation of a credible program for improving the housing situation. The third is an extensive reform of the services provided by the state. The fourth is the protection of the consumer and his rights in a dynamically developing market.

New Attitudes and Skills

An important condition for rapid growth is a change in attitudes and the appearance of new skills that were not useful until now. It is necessary to change attitudes toward work, too, to abandon an attitude of dependence, of waiting for guidelines and wages and to develop a free, enterprising, and responsible attitude. It is similarly important to train large groups of people in new specialist fields, from finance and marketing to the creation of enterprises within the context of agricultural. Finally, it is necessary to open our minds to the world, to other conditions and customs, to the prospect of EC membership. To attain these goals, a more energetic reform of education and serious promotional activities are necessary.

Suchocka Addresses Voivodes Conference

AU1201172793 Warsaw PAP in English 1415 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—The most important characteristic of the present government's policy is "stability for growth," Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said in Warsaw on Wednesday [6 January].

Addressing a meeting of Poland's provincial governors, Prime Minister Suchocka said that "for a state (...) which has gone through abrupt systemic changes, political, economic and social stability is not only essential for effective administration, but—above all—forms an essential condition for all development, for the civilised advance of Poland."

Ms. Suchocka stressed that economic stability was the basic condition underpinning change, and told her audience that the "enterprise pact" between the government,

the trade unions and the employers had been prepared on the basis of a social market economy.

A second condition was the establishment of minimum social security support, guaranteed by the state, and Ms. Suchocka said that the government would shortly issue precise details on the level of this support, "in accordance with budget capabilities and the need to give the worst-off a feeling of minimum security."

The prime minister conceded that the two waves of strikes, in the summer and in December, had shaken the political stability of the state, but stressed that this had not resulted in "any concessions to force the government to change its programme."

The "painful though unavoidable" reconstruction plan for the mining industry "is not the fruit of the last strikes, but of joint work by the government and unions." The government had made no concessions in the face of the recent strikes to ease the burden on the miners to the detriment of the rest of society, she added.

Ms. Suchocka identified two key areas in the reform of the Polish public administration: decentralisation of the state and a reduction in the sphere of activity for the state administration, and the strengthening of authority, which will require the strengthening of ministerial control over government agencies. In the Polish regions, she said, the provincial governors themselves should exercise this "ministerial" control over local administrations.

The prime minister stressed the importance of apoliticism and professionalism among provincial governors, and said it was essential for politicians and parliamentarians to be gradually removed from these posts, to avoid possible conflicts of interest. She added that she would not permit governors to campaign in national or local elections.

Ms. Suchocka outlined two basic principles for provincial administration: to create an autonomous structure of governance, and competent stewardship of state property, and of changes in its ownership.

Iliescu Holds Talks With French Foreign Minister*AU1201142293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0757
GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/1/1993—State Secretary Roland Dumas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, was received by Romanian President Ion Iliescu at the Cotroceni Palace on Monday, January 11.

Seen as a reactivation of the Romanian-French relations as a whole, President Iliescu's interview with the French chief diplomat addressed, as the distinguished guest said, first of all the economic area, as the latter signed the protocol of the 16th session of the Joint Romanian-French Commission of Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Cooperation in his capacity as the commission's chairman for France. The document is expected to boost the Romanian-French economic relations, French investments in Romania, and establish France's place in Romania's economic life.

They discussed the most serious situation in former Yugoslavia, which the French guest opined, had to be settled by negotiations the same as the conflicts in other zones in Europe, as well as the ways in which France could assist Romania's integration in European structures.

At the close of the interview, attended by French ambassador Renaud Vignal, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, presidential adviser Traian Chebeleu, and Romania's ambassador in Paris, Anton Vatesescu, President Iliescu noted in a press statement that "France keeps on a prominent place among the foreign investors here and we hope the year 1993 will mark a development on this line. State Minister Misu Negritoiu's planned visit to Paris in February will be a first materialization of the Bucharest talks. We are generally pleased with the course of the bilateral relations in every area—political, economic, and spiritual—and we hope they will further grow. Mr. Dumas' visit shows the mutual wish of our states' political leaderships in this respect."

In turn, the French minister said that "the links between Romania and France are steady. As for myself, I am one of those who visited Romania at the beginning [after the 1989 December revolution]. Thus, I can note the progress marked in the three years since 1989. The main purpose of my Romanian visit was to sign the protocol of the joint Romanian-French commission that has provided the framework for the political, economic, scientific, and cultural relations."

"I have talked with President Iliescu about the status of minorities in various countries, about the Yugoslav crisis and its evolution. We expressed our hope the conflict in this zone will get a peaceful solution in Geneva. We have agreed that France and Romania will contribute together to establishing peace in the region." The guest said he had conveyed President Iliescu an

invitation for a state visit to France. The date would be established by diplomatic channels. "We will do our best for the relations between Romania and France, powerful now, to be further maintained," the French foreign minister concluded.

Dumas Concludes Visit*AU1201151793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0855
GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/1/1993—Tuesday, 12 January, the official visit paid to Romania by Roland Dumas, Minister of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs of France concluded.

The talks between the head of the French diplomacy and his Romanian counterpart, Teodor Melescanu, the calls on Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu and on President Ion Iliescu proved out once again by the special relationship between Romania and France, by its concrete and essential results, and by the projects of bilateral collaboration and by the steady assistance granted by the French part for Romania's integration within European structures.

The French minister was accompanied at the Otopeni Airport by Teodor Melescanu, Minister of State and Romania's Foreign Minister.

Roman Presents FSN 'Shadow Cabinet'*AU1201220893 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 8 Jan 93 p
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[Report by Dan Mihalache: "The Shadow Cabinet—A Stability Plus Point"]

[Text] Enjoying a massive audience from the press of all colors, the first National Salvation Front [FSN] news conference this year dealt with the long expected "shadow government" with which this party is inaugurating a new practice in Romanian politics. FSN President Petre Roman explained in detail the meaning of this initiative, which can be easily distorted by a tendentious interpretation. "This practice of the establishment of an alternative government does not lead to political instability, but rather to stability, since it is bound to confer greater continuity to the government process. Likewise, it is a way in which our political platform, which we ran on in the elections, can be better explained," Roman said. The institutionalization of a "shadow government" in the opposition does not mean that the Front does not recognize the legitimacy of the current executive. On the contrary, the FSN spokesmen have expressed their readiness to cooperate with the government ministers from the critical position of a constructive opposition. In this respect, Roman recalled that he sent the prime minister, under his own signature, the analysis of the current government program done by the Front's Executive Bureau. This is a telling example of how this party means to act in the opposition.

The highlight of the news conference was the reading of the list of the members of the "shadow cabinet." It

consists of known FSN figures and an independent, Andrei Plesu, at the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs. The shadow prime minister is Roman. The other members are:

- Ion Aurel Stoica, industry
- Victory Babiuc or Adrian Severin, internal administration and local administration (an older FSN initiative intended to merge these two departments)
- Eugen Dijmarescu, economy and finance
- Petre Roman, foreign affairs
- Victor Babiuc or Alexandru Dumitrescu, justice
- Traian Basescu, transport, public works, and communications
- Gheorghe Muresan, agriculture
- Andrei Tugulea, education and science
- Ionel Blaga or Ioan Moldovan, labor and social security
- Bogdan Marinescu, health
- Adrian Severin, trade
- Bogdan Niculescu Duvaz or Ioan Moldovan, environment
- Gheorghe Albu, tourism
- Radu Berceanu or Cristian Radulescu, youth and sports
- Doru Viorel Ursu, relations with Parliament.

Regarding the Ministry of Defense, the FSN has two variants: appointment of a politically independent military figure or restructuring the ministry by appointing a civilian to lead it and giving the General Staff autonomy. For the latter case, the Front suggests Eugen Dijmarescu as minister.

Severin said that this list has a certain amount of flexibility, since it does not exclude negotiations for putting together a governmental coalition. This is why several people are named for certain ministries, while certain people are proposed for several departments.

Comments on Visit, FSN 'Shadow Government'

AU1301110993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0949 GMT 13 Jan 93

[From the Romanian press review of 13 January]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/1/1993—The leading Romanian dailies extensively cover and comment on the brief visit paid to Bucharest by Roland Dumas, French chief diplomatist. Daily DIMINEATA entitles its report on the visit with a quotation from the guest's statement: "We Will Do our Best for the New Powerful Relations Between Romania and France To Be Further Maintained." The daily assesses that "although lasting less than 24 hours, the French foreign minister's visit was extremely dense" and it confirmed both the two countries' interest in further developing the "traditionally fine" bilateral relations, as well as "the political will to do it." The daily also notes that the visit proceeded "at a very important moment for Romania, for its political

options, after its association with the European Communities and before its expected admission to the Council of Europe. By its geostrategic position in East Europe, Romania may offer France the possibility to renew its interwar traditions in which the Balkans were a priority," DIMINEATA considers. The French minister's visit is commented by the other dailies under such headlines as: "Courtesy and Interests" (ROMANIA LIBERA), "Romania's Admission to the Council of Europe Is a Matter of Time" (LIBERTATEA), "France Courts Romania Again" (TINERETUL LIBER), "I am Carrying a Message of Hope and Confidence" (CURIERUL NATIONAL). In its commentary on the visit, daily ADEVARUL writes down some of the statements made by Roland Dumas at a meeting with media representatives, during which he said that Romania's economic situation was worrying to his mind, and that the authorities left the impression they kept things under control. From talks conducted with representatives of the power and of the opposition, the French chief diplomatist felt that "an orientation has been found," ADEVARUL notes. [passage omitted]

The conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is commented on in daily LIBERTATEA which writes that Romania lies "in the vicinity of dangerous shooting ranges," wondering: "Could we defend ourselves only with gas masks against the fundamentalist-Cossack fumes [reference to the Dniester conflict in the Republic of Moldova] that herald also other interventions, well arranged, conducted from capitals that for the time being seem only dormant?"

The press continues to comment on the "shadow government" proposed last week by Petre Roman, leader of the National Salvation Front (FSN) and former prime minister. CURIERUL NATIONAL wonders whether this initiative confirms the information circulated by some political quarters about "preparations being done for the spring offensive of the opposition against the power. Could the FSN be the advanced but still secret phalanx of the opposition with which the latter will try to break the power wall?" wonders the newspaper, concluding that for the time being "the multiparty system is perceived only as a deadly fight for power, in utter disregard of the signals issued daily by the economic and social areas." In an article in daily LIBERTATEA, politicalist Silviu Brucan cautions that the parliamentarians of the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) run the risk to repeat the history and to have learned nothing from "the tragic story of the National Salvation Front" after the May 20, 1990 elections, as the respective parliamentarians seem to be concerned rather with getting "central and local offices" than with the political doctrine and ideological orientation.

Direct Talks Between Iliescu, CDR Suggested

AU1201151593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0851 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/1/1993—"The door is open for dialogue if the leadership of the Democratic

Convention of Romania [CDR] wants to clarify certain aspects with the presidency and discussions can start anytime," stated Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the presidency, on the request of a ROMPRES editor.

"I do not believe that by public dialogue, through the agency of the press, such aspects can be solved, the proper way being frontal talks," said Mr. Chebeleu. "Being a document for the public opinion, it does not imply a reaction of the presidency. There are more democratic ways to consider the questions raised."

We are mentioning that the recent statement of CDR, a document which studies aspects of the political situation in Romania today, was claiming "a public recognition of the fact that the president slandered the Democratic Convention as regards the clause [most favored nation status]," stressing the fact that "the presidency and the majority party [the Democratic National Salvation Front] do not have the ability to provide Romania with a development project as to its needs and in compliance with their own commitments."

Prefect Condemns Provocations by 'Radical' UDMR

AU1201210693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1723 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/1/1993—"Although Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) leaders claim noninvolvement, it is not impossible that extremist members of this political organization, who promote a radical approach, should have resorted again to a provocation," Grigore Zanc, prefect of Cluj, stated to the ROMPRES local correspondent.

As is known, unidentified persons wiped off the inscriptions in Romanian language on two of the signs indicating entry in the town of Cluj-Napoca, and replaced them with their equivalents in Hungarian.

"Everything must be seen in conjunction with the UDMR congress to be held soon in Brasov," Prefect Zanc opined, expressing his conviction that "the radicals" of the UDMR keep manifesting an "attitude of permanent defiance of the good relations with the majority population of Romania."

In the context, the prefect termed the draft statute of the so-called self-administration of Hungarian ethnic minority as a "scandal," as the document purports an overlapping of a Hungarian ethnic minority's own administration with the state administration of Romania, in organizational and zonal patterns, without indicating whether the said zones were planned only inside the Romanian boundaries.

Another "defiance against the Romanian majority" is considered the printing in Hungarian only of the Hungarian Opera in Cluj of its posters advertising "a classical music performance," which, the prefect deems, "should

address any music lover, the artistic spirit of each of us, rather than absurdly discriminate artistic taste by ethnic criteria."

Vatra Romaneasca Condemns Actions

AU1201215693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1825 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/1/1993—"Vatra Romaneasca" Union notes, in a communique, "a step-up of anti-Romanian actions by Hungarian extremism, which the other day went as far as changing the Romanian language inscription on the sign directing to Cluj-Napoca with one in Hungarian language," and considers such actions as "obviously purporting to foment a new inter-ethnic conflictual situation."

The communique sees the actions as done in "UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] style" and recognizes in them part of the methods used in early 1990 in the counties of Covasna, Harghita and Mures, which underlay the tragical events in Tirgu Mures.

"Vatra Romaneasca" Union demands in most categorical terms that 'the UDMR' issue not just inconsistent disavowals, but put an end to initiating, encouraging and masterminding such actions."

The communique also shows that insistence on "bilingualism and other forms of representation history itself infirmed betray a total lack of realism and open-mindedness on the part of the UDMR leaders who, eager to please occult circles, are striving with all their might to blast the coexistence relations between the Romanian and Hungarian citizens and keep these relations in a permanent state of tension."

The document requires the competent authorities to stop any action meant to infringe on the Romanian state's fundamental interests, or to hurt the dignity of the Romanian nation.

UDMR Congress Boycott Suggested

AU1301103093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0911 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/1/1993—The Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] has addressed an appeal to Romania's President, Government, Parliament, the political parties, and the whole people. "Considering that the coming congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] will tackle a program of territorial autonomy," PUNR asks everybody "to express a firm position as concerns the UDMR actions, not to attend the UDMR congress at Brasov," opining that "those taking part in this congress are supporting in fact Romania's dismembering," says the communique. It also asks the Supreme Defense Council, as well as Parliament to meet urgently to debate the existing situation and ban UDMR for having breached

Romania's Constitution and the law on national security, and to ban UDMR [Hungarian language] television and radio broadcasts.

"This is a difficult historical moment for us, when the Romanian forces have to get united to defend the interests of the Romanian nation, the sovereign, independent, and indivisible Romanian national state," concludes the appeal, signed by PUNR Chairman Gheorghe Funar.

Roman Favors FSN-CDR Cooperation

AU1201152493 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9-10 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Part one of interview with Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front, by Raluca Stroe Brumariu and Mihai Creanga; place and date not given: "The Proclamation of the Front as a Party Was Not an Example of Democracy"]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] You have recently announced the formation of an alternative government consisting to a large extent of the same people who made up the previous governments. Did you hold consultations with the Democratic Convention [CDR] parties about this initiative?

[Roman] This formula, which I would rather call an offer for a government alternative—since it cannot really be a government and, anyway, the Romanian public is not used to such formulas—is our party's initiative, consequently it was not coordinated with the other part of the opposition. However, it is quite clear, as I said in a letter sent to all opposition parties, that this formula does not affect the possibilities of subsequent cooperation and coalition. Moreover, we do not want a further splitting of the opposition, but rather a solid and substantial one. Therefore, this formula is our initiative, and it was high time to launch it. Proposing a more complete government alternative of the entire opposition is a matter that requires more time and negotiation, since we are talking about several political forces and interests.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Would it have been preferable to announce the idea of an alternative government and then start negotiations with the CDR or other opposition forces, rather than again presenting this party government, as if the only alternative in our country is the National Salvation Front [FSN]-Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] After all, if there is something over which to reproach the old FSN and the current FDSN, it is the very fact that it did not know how to let the opposition express itself in a positive manner. Did you take into consideration that, by first presenting a government with concrete appointments, the negotiations with the opposition will start out from an already firmly affirmed standpoint? How will this cooperation still become possible?

[Roman] There is some truth in that. Nevertheless, I would like to present two arguments, which in my

opinion are quite decisive, in support of our initiative. The Front's offer facilitates the assertion of the extant team's image, something that is important for the party. You have also noted who belongs to our team. This image is very important for the FSN's individuality, identity, and force, as long as it is an independent party. Second, I believe the urgent nature of the matter demanded that we present our government formula. This was an urgent matter of political initiative. Therefore, it had to be taken. Had we just started negotiations with the other parties in the Convention, since we have been cooperating with them of late....

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Still, if you had just announced this initiative....

[Roman] This intention, against the background of our political education, or better said lack of education, would have been pointless. We thought this matter over for a long time. Endorsement of the decision was practically unanimous in the party: that we go ahead with this initiative, taking care that it not impede our relations with the other part of the opposition. Moreover, your argument is correct. In concrete terms, some people will have to be replaced by others, since everybody must accept the political game. In the last instance, politics is being made by people. In this variant, I do not figure as prime minister, I occupy another position. Of course, I cannot fully answer your objections, but by balancing the political initiative effect with the alternative delay, I believe that our action is justified. As for the danger of a FSN-FDSN alternative, I consider it unjustified, if we think that FSN has the backing of 11 percent of the electorate and that together with the Convention and other parties we barely make up 40 percent. Therefore, it would be much too pretentious and unrealistic to claim that the choice is between the FDSN and FSN. I have never said such a thing.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Let us suppose that the situation is reversed: The Convention would have had such an initiative, presented a government, and only then consulted with you. Would that have bothered you?

[Roman] I do not think so. We were more upset by certain stands of certain CDR members in Parliament, who did us lots of damage and created an impossible image for concerted action by the opposition. For instance, I can cite Mr. Ciumara's [Mircea Ciumara, Assembly of Deputies member on behalf of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party-PNTCD] stance on the Privatization Commission or the National Bank and Mr. Ratiu's [Ion Ratiu, member of the Assembly of Deputies and PNTCD vice president] statements on the disasters of the Roman-Stolojan reforms, and so forth. These stands did more damage than good.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] I am somewhat biased by the fact that I have experienced with this newspaper the hardships of the period when it had to suffer because of the FSN attitude. I would like to know whether you have any regrets regarding that period—for instance, the time

when the Front proclaimed itself a party or when you used the remark: "They unmasked themselves," about Mr. Coposu [Corneliu Coposu, PNTCD president] and other opposition leaders. During the miners' incursion you, like President Iliescu, described the day of 13 June [1990] as having the same essence as the Iron-Guardist rebellion. Are you looking differently at all these things today, and can you give us an explanation for all that?

[Roman] Let us take the points one by one. You referred to the moment when the Front proclaimed itself a party. Some time ago, I said that that moment was not an example of democracy. On the contrary, the way in which it was done created a second major breach in the trust we would have needed to proceed to a true reform. I cannot say that the way in which the changeover to a party has occurred had my political blessing. It is a fact that I have stated my opinion at the time; nevertheless, I voted for the FSN's change into a party at the Council meeting. At that time, the Council consisted not only of people who later set up the FSN but also of people who later joined the opposition. Therefore, the offer made at that time was addressed to everyone. I remember that, in her speeches, Ana Blandiana [leading member and former president of the Civic Alliance] did not deny the need for or possibility of turning into a party, only the way in which it was done. The 29 January incident, with that "They unmasked themselves" statement, is a pretty strange affair. I do not recall that very well. I know that, at one point, I went out on the balcony and saw all those extremely agitated people shouting all kinds of horrible slogans. I tried to explain that Mr. Coposu—this is something I remember perfectly—is not one of those who have returned from abroad, but one who has spent 17 years in jail. I had a responsibility there because I was called there by Mr. Coposu's collaborators, who told me that I am directly responsible for seeing to it that nothing happens to him.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Did you not feel responsible?

[Roman] Of course I did! That is why I went there. I could not just tell them to sort it out by themselves. Let us understand each other, I or my aides were not responsible for having called those people out there in the street. Personally, I am not aware of any other call than the one you are all familiar with from the direct television broadcast on 28 January. I still disapprove of certain things the historic parties did in those days, since on 27 January, our discussion with them seemed to have led to a kind of settlement, that actually came to pass after the events. I believe they proceeded from a position designed to bring about our removal. I am convinced of that.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] I remember a reply by Mr. Iliescu, which scared me. At the negotiations that preceded the demonstration he said: "You will have as much power as we give you." This is what he said. Was there someone who was already carving up the power spheres?

[Roman] Only the elections could decide how much power each side will have. The assessment made then—allow me to have my own memories, too—by people with whom I am friends today, such as Dinu Patriciu [leader of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing], who told me "You are all finished; as for you, pack up and go while you still can," well, that was not his opinion, but rather the opinion of the people who came for the discussions there. I can easily dismiss those incidents now, but that was a clash that could have been avoided and, if anyone is to be blamed, then both sides are equally guilty. The matter with "They unmasked themselves," well, I do not recall what I meant by it. But it is obvious that I said it! Nevertheless, I cannot recall what I was thinking of and what was being unmasked. I believe I referred to the fact that they tried to sort of kick us out by force. I took the DREPTATEA newspaper as proof and quoted it during the discussion. The communique it carried was very categorical: You must leave, because you have assumed responsibilities for which you no longer have any legitimacy. But what kind of legitimacy did they have?

[ROMANIA LIBERA] But when you went out on the balcony and said "They unmasked themselves," did that amount to incitement?

[Roman] But where were you then? Were you there?

[ROMANIA LIBERA] No, I was watching the televised relay, and I saw the moment very clearly: You held both of your hands up, pointed at them, and shouted "They unmasked themselves."

[Roman] My feeling was exactly the opposite, namely that my mission was to calm down the people and tell them that this is not permissible and that there should be no physical attack on these people. I would very much like to see that recording, because I was trying to explain to the demonstrators that the opposition's presence is something quite natural—a pretty difficult task for me in those circumstances.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] You said: "They unmasked themselves."

[Roman] I would like to see that recording again, as I would also like to see the recording of the 1 December 1990 rally. After all, I should be allowed to reconsider those situations and be able to tell you: Yes, sir, that was an ugly, unfortunate, and unsuitable situation. However, I would like to convince myself of that, since I recall the succession of events, and my conviction is that everything could have been avoided. There is another thing that reporters tend to forget, namely, that in those days, I was devoting some 14, 16, 18 hours per day to the economic situation. At that time, I was not doing politics, since I did not know how to make politics. Until then, I had had no connection with politics at all.

Campeanu Denies Rumors About Leaving Politics

AU1201124293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] In a statement made to our reporters this morning at his own request, Mr. Radu Campeanu [President of the National Liberal Party] denied rumors that he intends to retire from politics and settle permanently in France. Mr. Campeanu pointed out that he had returned to Romania after 16 years of exile with the intention of defending the ideals of individual freedom, personal property, the independence and integrity of the national territory, and all Romanians' hope for a better life.

PNL-AT Leaders Discuss Current Political Issues

AU1201165793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] The weekly news conference of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT] was held this afternoon at the headquarters of that political group. The briefing was attended by PNL-AT Steering Body members Dinu Patriciu and Reymond Luca and by Bucharest Municipality Counselor Mihaela Ungureanu.

The issues discussed during the news conference referred to the stand of that party concerning the current political situation in Romania and the work—in that context—of the opposition parliamentarians and to the circumstances under which the planned unification of the liberal movement could be achieved.

According to our reporters, the dispute launched by the current political power concerning the position of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] regarding the granting by the United States of the most-favored-nation [MFN] status is but the beginning of a new confrontation, Mr. Dinu Patriciu said. That dispute is meant to divert the people's attention from the acute economic crisis of the country. The state power is trying to hide the true causes of the crisis and wants to find scapegoats for that difficult situation. Mr. Dinu Patriciu highlighted the fact that both the position of the CDR and the one expressed by [CDR and National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party leader] Corneliu Coposu were clearly in favor of granting Romania the status. As proof, Mr. Dinu Patriciu has mentioned the talks in Washington that he personally attended, during which Mr. Corneliu Coposu pointed out that the MFN status is not granted to the government, but rather to the whole nation.

Talking about the work of the Vacaroiu cabinet, both Mr. Dinu Patriciu and Mr. Reymond Luca asserted that the decisionmaking apparatus of the country is totally blocked and that the government is busy with cadre rotation instead of trying to formulate and implement major strategic decisions.

Some reference was made to the unification of the liberal movement, too. That unification should be achieved on the basis of the liberal doctrine and not around certain

personalities, Mr. Dinu Patriciu said. The first stage of the unification will comprise the merger of PNL-AT and the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD]. Reasserting their support for the Group for Political and Moral Reform within the National Liberal Party [PNL], the PNL-AT leaders assessed as positive the nomination of Mr. Constantin Balaceanu-Stolnici as PNL presidential candidate.

Answering a question referring to the work of the CDR parliamentarians, the PNL-AT leaders have stressed the need for them to initiate alternative legislative actions.

PNL-AT Bucharest Municipality counselor Mihaela Ungureanu told the reporters attending the news conference that the responsibility for the shortage in the drinking water supply of the Capital City lies with the RENEL and with the Water Supply autonomous public corporations—both directly under the control of Romania's Government—which failed to ensure the necessary amount of drinking water over last summer.

Bucharest Regime Compared To Belgrade

AU1201153893 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 31 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by F. Ioan: "Why and to What Extent Are We Friends With the Serbs"]

[Text] The special affection shown by the authorities in our country toward the current Serb regime has become obvious as we watch reports of [Romanian] television's "special correspondent"—who was supposedly sent to report correctly on events—and who has done nothing except reproduce exactly the communiques released by one of the sides: the Serb one, of course.

However, this friendship—and whatever else is behind it—becomes even more prominent if one takes into consideration the striking resemblance between the electoral processes in Bucharest and Belgrade, starting with the electoral campaign in which our good man in Belgrade could rely on the whole electoral apparatus hardened in the fierce struggle of the proletariat during communist "elections," and ending with the ballot, during which the same machinery fulfilled its duty thoroughly. Thanks to such assiduous work, Slobodan [Milosevic] was re-elected (note the resemblance) [to the re-election of Romanian President Ion Iliescu in September 1992] in the first ballot (there is a slight dissimilarity here), even though his rival, citing countless instances of rigging, also confirmed by international observers, vehemently disputed the election results. But the Electoral Commission in Belgrade also sided with the emanated one [reference to Iliescu], I mean with the president. And although the rigging was so blatant and so enormous that it could not be ignored and the commission could not avoid mentioning it, they proclaimed that it did not essentially alter the final outcome of the elections. The commission then annulled the results in certain constituencies but did not organize new elections. (!!) Messrs. Giunea, Zarnescu, or Florea [members

of the Central Electoral Commission in Romania] would not have reached a more correct decision either. What is the use of organizing so many ballots? The Serbs have annulled a number of constituency results, and the same thing has been done with a number of votes on the other side. Thus not only the presidents, but also their parties (the Serb one, however, does not call itself FDSN) [the Democratic National Salvation Front grouped around Iliescu] have emerged as the victors. So the electoral struggle ended with results fully satisfying the Serb neo-socialists [as published], who are now able see to their showdown with the civilian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina or in other parts of the country and go on with their bluffing to the United Nations, such as the reopening of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway (that accord has been officially signed and sealed) although it was closed again by hails of machinegun fire at the sight of the first credulous car.

In order to make the similarities even more striking, and because Belgrade is probably also badly in need of a diversion, a Number 2 C.V.T. [reference to Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, leader of the Romania Mare Party in Romania] has emerged in the person of the chief of staff of the Serbian forces in Bosnia, who claims to possess irrefutable information that some 20,000 terrorists trained in Albania and Bulgaria are to join the combat in a few days, without mentioning the exact date [reference to Tudor's 1992 December speech in Romanian Parliament claiming that he has knowledge of an imminent Hungarian terrorist attack in Transylvania]. That Serb officer will never be called to account by the People's Assembly of Serbia. As a matter of fact, our informer is not running such a risk either.

After all, the Serb Army is able to fight and will defeat, as Saddam Husayn did, any other army in the world.

Police Report Outlines 1992 Crime Statistics

AU1301111093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000
GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/1/1993—A report of the head of the Police General Inspectorate of Romania shows that crime scaled in Romania in 1992. Crime rate increased from 601 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1991 to 635 in 1992. 144,750 crimes against public and private property were revealed by the police department, which amount to four billion lei.

Economic police found out more than 46,000 crimes, the most incriminated sectors being domestic trade, agriculture, cooperative system, and machine building. An 8.7-percent increase of the rate of embezzlement, a 49 percent for office abuses, a 29.4 percent for fraud, and a 22.4-percent increase of corruption were registered in 1992.

Some 25.6 kilograms of gold, 316.5 kilograms of silver, over \$611,000, various goods, and over 1,145 billion lei cash were confiscated from the 32,000 traffickers and profiteers hunted by economic police.

The report highlights that certain crimes were deliberately committed by professionals, which confirms the idea of organized crime in Romania. Robbery and blackmail committed by Chinese citizens and Turks added to the aggravated murders committed for robbery by offenders coming from the Commonwealth of Independent States. In 1992 police handled 44 serious criminal offenses committed by Chinese citizens.

Police also confiscated from 43 citizens, most of them foreigners, 30.5 kilograms of cocaine, it discovered 39 quicksilver thefts and 1,416 weapons and 780 kilograms of explosives illegally held.

One hundred and thirty-six stolen cars coming from the West were also recuperated.

Karadzic Tells Serb Fighters To Hold Positions

LD1301121293 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske
Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, in his message from Geneva to Serb fighters, states that it is now important to hold on to captured positions and not to pay much attention to maps, because they are still to be discussed. Stressing that the course of negotiations never gives clear indication of the outcome, Karadzic assured the Serb fighters that the Serb delegation would achieve its goal (?of realizing) the sovereignty and constituent status of the Serb nation, as well as just ethnic demarcation between the nations of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mladic Calls Talks 'New Opportunity'

LD1301095193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 0230 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—The talks on the constitutional principles of the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Geneva created a new opportunity for solving the crisis peacefully, Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, said late last night on his return to Belgrade.

Gen Mladic said in a statement for TANJUG that the Serb delegation had agreed with the offered documents with certain minor corrections. This, according to him, created an opportunity to continue the Geneva negotiations.

"It remains to be seen, however, what can be agreed with the other two sides in future negotiations," Mladic said. He expressed hope that the talks will continue after a decision of the Serb Republic's parliament, which is to be reached within seven days.

Asked to comment on the resolution of the "mini-summit" of the Islamic Conference Organization in Dakar, which practically demands that Serbs be disarmed and Muslims armed, Gen Mladic stressed that these were only "their demands and endeavors."

The documents offered in Geneva propose the demilitarization of the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e., the gradual disarmament of all three warring sides, Mladic explained. He believes that the demand of the Islamic countries "should not be turned into a sensation." "We will not allow anything that is against the will and interests of our people," he added.

"It is important that the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina are an equal party in negotiations, and, as today's talks proved, it is not possible to reach any final solution without them," Mladic stressed.

Asked whether the Serbs will allow themselves to be left without a corridor linking Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as is envisaged on the proposed maps, Mladic said the maps had not been

discussed in Geneva at bilateral meetings or at plenary sessions. The problem of maps and corridors, as well as some other issues, will be discussed when the talks continue, Mladic said.

Serb Officials React to Karadzic Decision

LD1301114293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1024
GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 13 (TANJUG)—Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic said on Wednesday [13 January] that the fact that Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic had agreed to the constitutional organization on Tuesday in Geneva, as proposed by cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, was "in accordance with the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament's decision."

Lukic underscored that he "did not believe that the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament would bow before any pressures which did not lead to the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina having its own identity in the future state."

The Yugoslav delegation said on Tuesday in Geneva, that Karadzic had agreed to the proposed document and that his approval had to be verified by the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament in "seven days time, at the latest."

A statement issued by the Yugoslav delegation says that Karadzic had made the decision at the insisting of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, whose point of departure was "the interest of the Serbian people for a peaceful solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament Vice-President Biljana Plavsic said in a statement to British Television on Tuesday, that Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament would not accept the Geneva peace plan.

Plavsic said that "Karadzic was authorized to accept some details of the plan, but that the parliament's agreement was required for a final decision."

The Geneva negotiations on the constitutional principles of Bosnia-Herzegovina's future organization have created a new chance for the peaceful resolving of the crisis in this former Yugoslav republic, said Bosnian Serb Army Commander General Rade Mladic.

The Bosnian delegation agreed to the proposed documents on the constitutional principles with small corrections, thus opening up the possibility for continuing negotiations, General Mladic told TANJUG on returning from Geneva.

Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) leader in Bosanska Krajina (northwestern Bosnia) Radislav Vukic said on

Wednesday that the acceptance of the Geneva documents "was half the road to ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Vukic said that the document was the "final recognition of the Serbs' right to self-determination through the recognition of the existence of three nations in the spaces of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Nine months ago, local Moslem and Croatian forces started an armed conflict against Bosnian Serbs who had declared the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina in opposition to the secessionist policy of the Moslem-Croatian coalition in the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership.

Moslems make up about 44 percent, Serbs 31 percent and Croats around 17 percent of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Presidency Member Urges Support for Geneva Plan

LD1201170793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Text] The Croatian delegation has accepted the proposal of the cochairmen of the Geneva conference on the territorial and political organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It would be wise for the delegation of the Muslim people in Bosnia-Herzegovina to accept the plan that has been offered, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Franjo Boras said at a news conference in Mostar today. In that case, in Boras' words, the Serbian people will have only two options: First, to accept the proposal as a package, in which case they would admit that their entire policy has been defeated militarily and politically; or second, to reject the proposal, in which case they would have to face an international military intervention, thus heading for an even more severe defeat.

By accepting the proposed political and territorial organization, the Muslim people in Bosnia-Herzegovina would speed up the restoration of peace on its soil, Franjo Boras said. In his capacity as member of the Presidency nominated by the Croatian Democratic Community, he called on the other members of the Presidency to support and accept the Geneva documents.

British Soldier Shot Dead in Gornj Vukov

AU1301132093 Paris AFP in English 1228 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] London, Jan 13 (AFP)—A British soldier in the U.N. force in Bosnia-Herzegovina was killed Wednesday [13 January] by small arms fire in the town of Gornj Vukov west of Sarajevo, the Defense Ministry announced.

It was the first British soldier killed in Bosnia since British troops were deployed there under U.N. auspices last September.

The brief ministry statement said "a soldier serving with the Cheshire battalion group in Gornj Vukov was killed by small arms fire in the center of the town at about 11 a.m. this morning."

It said nothing about who fired the shots or other circumstances surrounding the shooting, nor did it identify the soldier. The town lies about 70 kilometers (43 miles) west of the Bosnian capital.

Five British U.N. troops have been wounded by gunfire in Bosnia-Herzegovina since September.

Britain now has some 2,400 troops deployed in the former Yugoslav republic to protect delivery of relief supplies.

Serbs Report Muslim Plot To Kill Islamic Leader

LD1201211993 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] We have received the following statement from the Ministry of Information of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina]: In his report yesterday, an associate of the Ministry of Information of the Serb Republic based in the part of Sarajevo under Muslim control said that under a plan devised by the main headquarters of the Muslim armed forces, Salih Efendija Colakovic, chairman of the council of elders of the Islamic religious community for Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be killed at a politically-appropriate time. Our associate obtained this information from Zlatko Hrenovica. It can be expected that under the same plan, the Serbs would be blamed for the crime as a way of creating the strong impression, especially in the Muslim world, that the main objective of the struggle by the Serbs of former Bosnia-Herzegovina is to annihilate Islam.

Hunger, Cold Claims 291 Lives in Zepa

LD1201224793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Zeljko Ruzicic]

[Text] In the Zepa area in the past four days, 291 civilians, mostly children, died of hunger and cold. This was stated in the course of the talks between an Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] representative [name indistinct] and Bosnia-Herzegovina Deputy Prime Minister Zlatko Lagundzija. It was confirmed that the chetnik aggressor's high command was not allowing United Nations Protection Force convoys to reach Zepa.

In the city of Sarajevo, chetnik attacks on civilian targets have intensified this evening. The almost-destroyed building of the republican assembly was attacked with missiles late this afternoon and early this evening. In two

hours, chetniks fired 19 missiles at Hrasno Brdo and the Square of Heroes. Their tanks also fired at the Stup and Stupko Brdo districts from their stronghold in Nedjarici. One civilian died in [words indistinct] from a chetnik sniper.

Croat-Muslim Clash in Gornji Vakuf Reported

LD1201211393 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] The Croatian Defense Council of Gornji Vakuf sent us a statement this evening saying among other things:

Following a vandal act of taking down and burning the Croatian flag this morning, Muslim extremists opened fire from anti-aircraft machine guns over villages in the municipality of Gornji Vakuf, predominantly populated by Croatian people. At 1500, the commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Headquarters in Gornji Vakuf, Fahrudin Agic, ordered artillery fire to be opened on the entire territory of the municipality of Gornji Vakuf to which the forces of the Croatian Defense Council fiercely responded. Fighting intensified in the evening with the probability of further spreading.

Tuzla Airfield 'Ready' for Operation

93BA0438A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
13 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Ivica Nusic: "What's Going On With the Airfield?"]

[Text] *The Presidency of the SO [District Assembly] of Tuzla will again request the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the command of UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] that the "Dubrave" begin to serve its purpose*

Tuzla (from the permanent NOVI VJESNIK correspondent)—The former military airfield "Dubrave" near Tuzla is still covered by a wall of silence. The port is brand new, actually, of the highest class. It is capable of accommodating the largest air transports. It has irrefutable advantages over the Sarajevo and Mostar airfields. In addition to ideal meteorological conditions that prevail over it and around it, the Tuzla airfield can receive and dispatch aircraft day and night, and moreover it is located almost in the center of the largest free territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In truth, in the course of withdrawing from this shiny base in May, the former Yugoslav Army removed or damaged the greater part of its infrastructure. But engineering units of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Armed Forces repaired the damage caused by the explosions.

At the moment "Dubrave" really lacks only modern navigation systems. However, these could already be

brought with the first transport received here. The suitability is also without comparison in Bosnia-Herzegovina because of the fact that the Tuzla airfield has almost unlimited storage area for receiving humanitarian aid.

According to the military commander of "Dubrave," Mevludin Besic, everything is ready at the Tuzla airfield for it to be again activated. Only permission is being awaited. In the words of the mayor of Tuzla, Mr. Selim Beslagic, the Presidency of the Assembly of the District of Tuzla will again turn to the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the UNPROFOR command to demand that "Dubrave" begin to serve its purpose. A request to become involved in the Tuzla "airfield case" will also be sent to the Government of Croatia.

Further, military commentators of the best-known world newspapers have, in recent days, increasingly begun to include Tuzla in analyses and prognoses of the results of the war on Bosnian-Herzegovinian territories. Because, in addition to the fact that Tuzla, with surrounding districts, constitutes the largest free territory in the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, this city is truly assuming a key role in the further development of war operations in Bosnia. With the military potential that is currently at its disposal and that it is constantly augmenting with well trained personnel and modern equipment, Tuzla has been including its armed forces for months in the fighting that is being waged on the battlefields of Brcki and Gradacac.

Assessments that Tuzla is not even included in Greater Serbian plans of conquest are still in effect. According to them, the aggressor has left the second largest city as the "crown" of its campaign of conquest.

But, the assessment of those who see in the Tuzla subregion the embryo of that which all Bosnia would soon have to be is nevertheless more logical. It is clear to men who are occupied with war without emotion and improvisation that Tuzla and its surroundings are a "hard nut" for the aggressor's army, because of the forces of the Second Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the headquarters of which is right in Tuzla. The adversary's forces are now "nailed down" in Gradacac, Brcki, Dobo, Olovo, Maglaj, and a few other places. Of course, the aggressor could reach for combat air power, use the most warlike weapons, but he must also reckon with the psychological element of the Tuzlans, who are very united and determined in their intention to defend their own freedom.

In the context of the comments and assessments regarding the position of Tuzla, one speaks about the aggressor's corridors for connecting the "Krajina" and the "SR [Federal Republic] of Yugoslavia." The most thorough review of the development of the war situation on the Branski, Olovo, and Gradacac battlefields, for example, gives the right to conclude that the enemy ranks on them are losing the ground from under their

feet. In the ever more visible defeats of the Serbian-Montenegrin army, the Tuzla-Lukavac-Zivinije-Kalesija-Banovici units of the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] have the main role. Precisely by helping one's neighbors, one's own areas are made more secure and more difficult to conquer. Moreover, it is quite improbable that the Belgrade-Pale war planners in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not have Tuzla, a city with almost ideal road-railway connections (the Doboj-Tuzla-Zvornik railway and good road communications for Bijeljina, Brcko, Olovo, Gradacac, and Zvornik), in mind as a corridor link. However, wishes are one thing and opportunities another, and the center of northeastern Bosnia is free and will certainly remain that way too; this is an important fact in world comments and judgments about the war.

Rapes Destroy Muslim Family Relations

93BA0443A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 24 Dec 92 p 28

[Unattributed article: "Raped Muslim Women Are Killing Their Children"]

[Text] *Sexually abused women in Bosnia-Herzegovina are being killed by their husbands or forced to commit suicide.*

Vienna, 24 Dec—Austrian Minister of Family Affairs Maria Rauch-Kallat emphasized at a press conference in Vienna that violence against women in Bosnia-Herzegovina was continuing, since raped women were being killed by their husbands or forced to commit suicide.

The Austrian family minister, citing statements by doctors, said that mothers themselves were killing children who were the result of rape. Within the framework of Caritas's campaign for raped women who are the victims of war, Rauch-Kallat advocated prosecuting all cases of rape as at the Nuremberg trials.

Austrian Minister for Women's Affairs Johanna Dohnal again demanded at a joint press conference with the Austrian family minister that abused women be offered refuge in Austria. Dohnal said that Austrian Interior

Minister Franc Loschak supported those efforts. She emphasized that this problem had to be settled at the European level, since Austria could not resolve it by itself.

If the concentration camps on the territory of the former Yugoslavia are closed because of public pressure and the captured women are released, it will not only be necessary to house them, but also to provide them with appropriate care and treatment, Rauch-Kallat emphasized. As part of the campaign to help raped women that started two weeks ago at the initiative of both of the above-mentioned Austrian ministers, they are now buying, together with Croatian Caritas, houses and apartments, primarily in the area of Zagreb, Split, and Djakovo. The first house, in which 20 women will be able to receive shelter, is to open in January.

Austrian Caritas representative Marion Feik said that they would also take care of training the groups that will help the raped women, and of arranging for a telephone hotline.

After a visit to Croatia Feik also said that Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens in Croatia did not have any health insurance, and that they were therefore frequently rejected at Croatian hospitals. The remaining stocks of medicines are mostly being used to treat wounded soldiers.

Bosnian Children Reportedly Leave For Libya

93BA0438C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 92 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Children From Bosnia in Libya"]

[Text] Cairo— One thousand children from Bosnia-Herzegovina left yesterday for Libya on a ship from Croatia, the Egyptian news agency MENA reports. The brief information states that the ship Granada is transporting "Bosnian children who are homeless." It does not say whose ship this is, or from what port it sailed. Since the expression "Bosnian" is used as a rule in the Islamic world exclusively to mean members of the Muslim faith, Muslim children are most probably being referred to.

Tudjman Issues Statement on Geneva Conference

*LD1201203293 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on 12 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] The conference at the top was dramatic at the moment when Karadzic's statement called the continuation of the conference into question, and also when FRY President Dobrica Cosic and serb President Slobodan Milosevic announced their acceptance [of the draft constitution]. A few hours ago, cochairmen Vance and Lord Owen in fact dissolved the conference, leaving some uncertainty over the date of its resumption; however, they also expressed their determination to continue talks bilaterally and to reconvene the conference at a given moment. The turnabout was obviously triggered by Karadzic's statement that he accepts the general principles of the constitutional solution, provided his Assembly endorses this.

This approach to a political solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is as important for us as our talks with Yugoslav President Cosic and the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro, Milosevic and Bulatovic. We agreed that all of us have to invest efforts in putting an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in bringing about a political solution to Bosnia-Herzegovina's crisis, and that we should take concrete steps to normalize relations between Croatia as a sovereign state and Serbia and Montenegro, i.e. their Yugoslavia.

To this end we have already exchanged one paper of ours—what is called a paper in diplomacy. Here in Geneva they had no opportunity to consider it in detail since they had to deal with the problem of Bosnia, that is of Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina president], but they will consider it nonetheless and put forward their proposals and comments. We also agreed that by the end of this month there should be a meeting to resolve specific questions surrounding this normalisation. Of course, this refers above all to the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to the entirety of other open questions.

Krajina Serbs Urge Karadzic To Reject Peace Plan

*LD1201122993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Knin, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Reacting to the Geneva negotiations and the draft proposal on the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mile Paspalj, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina's Assembly, and Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina, have sent a letter to Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, expressing their bitterness over the ultimatum demanding that he sign the document that is on the table.

The letter stresses that acceptance of the ultimatum would mean a defeat of the Serb nation and would demean the thousands of lives lost in this nation's struggle for freedom.

Paspalj and Zecevic also demand that Karadzic and the government of the Serb Republic not abandon the standpoints of the Serb Republic Assembly session held in Bijeljina, the joint declaration from Prijedor [on the integration of the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic], as well as the agreement reached in Belgrade before the beginning of the second round of the Geneva negotiations.

Interior Minister Discusses Slovene Border Dispute

*LD1201222893 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Following a prolonged period of peace, a dispute over the Slovene-Croatian sea border has flared up recently. A Croatian patrol boat that sailed into Piran Bay was accused of trespassing in Slovene territorial waters. The captain of the boat denied this, but the Slovene public media have attached very great importance to the event. Therefore we asked Ivan Jarnjak, our internal affairs minister, to make a statement.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] What happened in Piran Bay was described by the Slovene side as an incident. How would you describe it?

[Jarnjak] That was not an incident. That was a routine, everyday patrol by one of our patrol boats in Croatian territorial waters—that means, along the southeastern coast of Piran Bay, which belongs to the Republic of Croatia. The boat has patrolled there every day thus far, and it will continue doing so in the future; it will be patrolling Croatian territorial waters.

The sea border has not yet been precisely defined, and therefore two state commissions have been set up on the Croatian and Slovene sides to define the border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia, and this will also include the maritime border.

We cannot resolve the problem by a media campaign. Croatia will neither gain nor lose part of its territory in a media campaign. We will resolve the problem if we wait for the commissions to determine the border, and until then patience is needed. Accepting that the whole of Piran Bay belongs to Slovenia is unacceptable, and in no way could I agree that this is a way of achieving results. [end recording]

Ambassador Rejects Slovene Protest

*LD1201143093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Miljenko Zagar, ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Slovenia, told Zagreb's VECERNJI LIST that it is not possible to

accept the claim that Croatian ships entered Slovene territorial waters three days ago, because "the sea border has not yet been defined."

This statement by the Croatian ambassador followed an official protest lodged by the Slovene Foreign Ministry in connection with an incident in the Piran Bay. The Slovene authorities noted that a Croatian police patrol boat accompanied by a missile corvette of the Croatian Navy violated Slovenia's territorial waters in the northern Adriatic.

Croatia suggested to Slovenia that representatives of the Internal Affairs Ministries of the two states should meet as soon as possible and clarify the misunderstandings which have arisen in connection with the event.

Hadzic Says UN Planes Carrying 'Jihad Warriors'

LD1201184693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—"While Croats and Muslims and those who stand behind them in Geneva are pretending to be peacemakers, they are ordering an offensive and are cutting throats, killing, and burning in Bosnia and Krajina," Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, told ISKRA [news agency of the Serbian Krajina] today.

A total of 11 Serbian civilians were killed and 20 were wounded in Ravno village, near Kupres, on Orthodox Christmas. Mojahedins yesterday launched an attack on Novi Grad (formerly Bosanski Novi), and 59 Serbs—a whole squad—were killed in that Islamic offensive, while about 160 are reported missing, Hadzic said.

The president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina claims that "murderers, jihad warriors, Muslim religious fanatics who carried out that massacre arrived aboard planes transporting humanitarian aid."

"They arrived aboard UN Protection Force planes to kill the Serbs," Hadzic stressed, assessing that "it is not by accident that all this is happening during the talks in Geneva."

"Mojahedins and the Croatian army would not attack if they were not instigated by the same 'well-intentioned' circles which are trying to persuade us in Geneva today to sign what they want us to sign, to restore peace, and to postpone the solving of the Serb question 'until a later date' when conditions are 'more favourable for us,'" Hadzic told ISKRA.

Commentary Views Upcoming Sarinic Visit to Rome

LD1201211793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Commentary by Albino Cehic]

[Excerpts] Albino Cehic comments on the eve of a visit to Rome by Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic, during which he will have talks with Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato:

[Cehic] There are no major problems between Croatia and Italy, but since Croatia has become a sovereign, independent, and internationally recognized state, some issues have arisen which need to be discussed and resolved according to CSCE and EC criteria.

Italy wants to know whether Croatia will observe treaties which former Yugoslavia made, the most important one being the Osimo Treaty. Consensual revision of all treaties regarding the issue of confiscated and nationalized property of Italian post-World War II refugees will be discussed. Possibilities for their return will also be discussed. Minorities were important topics of earlier contacts between Croatian politicians and their western neighbors, and this will be the case tomorrow too.

Regardless of this, the general climate for the development of good-neighborly relations between Croatia and Italy is favorable, and, as the Italian press writes, there are many grounds for optimism. [passage omitted]

The delegation to be headed by Prime Minister Sarinic will have two crucial tasks: to clear all misunderstandings regarding treaties with former Yugoslavia, and to establish even firmer economic links, because Croatia needs help more than ever before.

Former Osijek Mayor Discloses Croatian Attacks

93BA0411B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by R. Arsenic: "Borovo Selo Was Attacked by the Croatian Side"]

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Dec—As time passes, and broad strata of the citizens in Croatia are having a harder and harder time getting along, this public is beginning to be presented views and truths about past events which up to now have been carefully concealed and covered up. An interview with Zlatko Kramaric, mayor of Osijek until recently, which is being published in installments yesterday and today in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, is interesting in that sense. Kramaric, we recall, remained for a long time in the office of mayor even though he had for an opponent the "hawk" Branimir Glavas, the well-known member of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] who held the real power in that city. The kind of person he is is amply indicated by his statement, which even under present conditions in Croatia horrified a considerable number of TV viewers: This summer, when Croatian prisoners of war who had fought at Vukovar were exchanged and released, he met them with the words: "Now you can freely say that you are Ustashi."

Kramaric was one of the rare mayors in Croatia who did not belong to the ruling HDZ, but was part of the leadership of Budisa's Liberals (the Croatian Social

Liberal Party [HSLŠ]), and resigned from the office of mayor when "Tudjman became angry at him," according to his own statement. That is, Tudjman made him an offer to come over to the HDZ, which he refused. Then he lost his support and had to withdraw.

The most interesting part of Kramaric's interview has to do with the initial events of the war in Croatia, i.e., those moments when the armed showdown between Croats and Serbs actually began.

The occasion for this lengthy interview is the publication of Zlatko Kramaric's book, in which he tells about how he sees events in Croatia. For example, it was a big surprise for the Croatian public when he testified and asserted (something that was known long ago among the Serbs) that the attack on Borovo Selo in the spring of 1991 was undertaken by the Croatian side, "and even one of the present ministers of the Republic of Croatia" took part in it.

Here is that part of the interview verbatim:

"That kind of attack could have been undertaken only by those who never in their life had read even 'Vinetu.' After all, had they read him, they would have learned that even the waging of war has certain rules of the genre: that you must scout, see, estimate, evaluate, set up tactics..." Kramaric says and mentions that he was bound by his oath and "so I could not speak about that before now." As to whom he made that pledge, this is what he replied:

"One of the participants in that action. I did not remember the date when that occurred precisely because I wanted to squeeze it out of my memory, because I promised that until one of the participants spoke out, I would not say a word about it. And if it had not been mentioned in public at an election campaign meeting in Osijek this year, I would not have written a line about it. To be sure, there is one version that in Zagreb at the time it was felt that the war would be very brief, that communist Serbia would remain isolated, and that then democratic and freedom-loving Europe would automatically help us. But that was the logic of children."

"And that the army would not interfere directly in that war?" was the next question.

"Yes, those were the assessments. That is why there are several blank places in my book, because I still do not dare to write about some of those things."

In the second installment of the interview, Kramaric gives his account of another event in those bloody days, one on which official Croatian propaganda says exactly the opposite—about the attack on Tenja.

"Yes, we attacked it. There was not even any particular attempt to conceal it, but there has been constant manipulation with that notorious half hour: to the effect that if the army had not come, Tenja would certainly have fallen. But that was another naive action, which could not work because the army's behavior was not an unknown at all. The army went to Plitvice, the army went to Pakrac, to Borovo Selo—and there was no reason whatsoever why the army would not go to Tenja as well."

That action, he confirms, was "led by B.G." (i.e., Branimir Glavas).

According to Kramaric's interpretation, the bloody option of war in the Slavonian region won out following the still mysterious murder of Josip Rajhl-Kir, Osijek police chief, a man, incidentally, who was esteemed by members of both nationalities. Remarking that he "wanted to install civil democracy, not national democracy," Kramaric said that with Kir he could go among the Serbs at any time.

"You have to act sincerely and truthfully. Those are virtues which every man recognizes. At least that is how I see it. I have always been accessible and willing to negotiate—but that does not mean that I ever departed from official Croatian policy. On one occasion, for example, some Serb asked which flag should fly over the building of the local community in Dalj? I told him: 'I do not know how many flags there will be, but one I know must be there. And the others "which you put up do not concern me at all."' And he said: 'Even our Serbian flag?' And I said: 'Even your Serbian flag.' And that was that. In some way you are defending the attributes of the state, so that that state can be recognized in Dalj, in Sodo Lovci, and in Bobota, but you also want there to be standards as there are in New York, where you have a thousand flags and no one is bothered by it. And so the Serbs in Dalj actually did put up the Croatian flag, and there were no problems at all."

In that respect, Kramaric said, he remained isolated, especially when Rajhl-Kir was eliminated.

Drnovsek Addresses Parliament on Forming Government*AU1201 23 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Speech by Prime Minister-designate Janez Drnovsek to the State Chamber of Parliament in Ljubljana—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman of the State Chamber and deputies! I am presenting myself to this high house today as a candidate for prime minister of the new Slovene Government. All of us gathered here were given a mandate by the Slovene voters to run our country in the near, very important, future. The voters rewarded us with their trust. At the same time, however, they also entrusted us with a huge responsibility, namely, to consolidate our young state, improve its economic position, to complete its economic and political metamorphosis, and lead it between the dangerous pitfalls of international political and economic relations.

The former Parliament accomplished an important task despite the frequent stalemates and mutual obstruction. With international recognition, Slovenia became an independent state and escaped the whirlwind of the Balkan war and ethnic clashes. Despite the war near us and the severance of all former economic ties with that area, including the loss of markets to which a considerable part of the Slovene economy was tied, Slovenia succeeded in maintaining and even strengthening its internal economic stability and began serious transformation of its economic system. A lot of work has already been done but there is a lot remaining.

The international situation is very complicated. Perhaps we could even say that it is becoming more complicated with the possibility of new, greater crises or even wars erupting. The times of clarity and even stability in international relations are gone. The breakdown of the old, potentially dangerous but rather stable balance of power between the two international political blocs resulted in the expansion of democratic and market processes, but also brought a new instability that will probably last for quite some time.

What used to seem self-explanatory and certain—peace and security—is no longer. The crisis areas in southeast Europe and in the east can develop into war zones at any moment. This danger is additionally increased by lethargy in search of more efficient economies among the states of the former Eastern bloc. Numerous possibilities for inter-ethnic and religious clashes can be quickly fueled by the explosion of social unrest and the exodus of economic and political refugees from East to West. It is evident that in such a case the developed Western world would increasingly shield itself from these phenomena.

Slovenia is very close to the boundary between stable and unstable, developed and under-developed, and has not yet secured itself a permanent place in the Western European economic integration and in the Western

collective security system. We are still excessively stigmatized by our proximity and former ties with the southeast Balkan crisis. At the same time, we are a country still in transition to the parliamentary and market systems. In our efforts to survive in the circle of more stable and economically advanced countries, we face stiff competition with numerous other countries who want the same things, and at the same time we face understandable selfishness of those countries that have already secured these things for themselves. This is a struggle that awaits us. It will be the struggle for a safer life and greater economic progress. If we slip here, no one from outside will help repair our mistakes. We will slip again into the abyss of political and economic instability and possible chaos.

We viewed the recent elections primarily as an opportunity for the establishment of an internal political stability that would permit successful action on numerous internal and foreign economic and political challenges. It is probably clear to everyone that in the present international situation, any major internal political crisis and uncertainty would greatly reduce Slovenia's chances for saving itself from the abyss. Of course, no benevolent person could perceive the desire for a stable government and political situation as a desire to return to the old political monolithism. That the parliamentary system will have its political pluralism and protect individual human rights is an achievement that Slovenia will never abandon. Political stability means a government that has sufficient support in the Parliament to carry out the crucial tasks.

During this time the government will be under constant critical scrutiny and pressure by the opposition, and the voters will know how to punish any failure. It is realistic and sensible to expect that the political parties and the Parliament would at least partially overcome their feuds and differences and facilitate the formation of a government that will be able to function.

The outcome of the elections resulted in such a distribution of political power that it is very difficult to form a sufficiently homogeneous and reliable government coalition. The will of the voters was additionally distorted by an insufficiently verified and thoughtful electoral law which further complicated the situation. In spite of all this, there are possibilities for the formation of a sufficiently stable government, and I will try to realize these possibilities in the shortest possible time. If you endorse me as prime minister-designate, to form the new Slovene Government, I will, of course, present the new cabinet within the prescribed deadlines.

Esteemed deputies! Why do I ask for your positive attitude toward my candidacy, for your vote to be elected as prime minister-designate? I believe by no means that I am the only man who could undertake the responsible and risky task of leading the Slovene Government in this period. The Liberal Democratic Party offered and announced my candidacy to the voters in its earlier

program. The voters accepted it with a convincing relative majority and thus I and the deputies of our party must responsibly respect our announcements. The complexity of the political situation and the balance of powers in Parliament cannot deter us from this.

We are also aware that in case I am not elected today, this would extremely complicate the political situation. The balance of power in Parliament is such that any subsequent candidate would stand a far smaller chance for success, thus bringing us very close to new, early elections. Another election would mean a real political and economic catastrophe for Slovenia. I think that there is no need to mention the wasted energy and time and further delay in Slovene economic transformation. The political signal that Slovenia would give to the world with this also would not go unnoticed. Political instability in any part of the world is a very bad omen for economic predictions. In the case of Slovenia, a question would also arise whether this new little country is really capable of creating political and economic systems that would allow survival in the strained international situation. In our struggle to climb over the edge to the safer part of the world, this would definitely mean slipping back a step.

As the possible prime minister of the new government, I offer directives for a stable economy and currency in my program, as well as European rules in our economic and legal system, accelerated privatization which would be accompanied by the appropriate social mechanisms in the transitional period, the accelerated creation of new markets and jobs with which we would compensate for those that were lost. I pay special attention to the strengthening of the rule of law and the protection of individual human rights. We will strive to resolve our heritage in the former state ultimately and as quickly as possible, and join the Western economic and political associations once and for all as quickly as possible.

In foreign relations, we will give priority to improving relations with our neighbors and, of course, to the relations with the EC, the Council of Europe, and other political, business, and financial organizations and institutions. We believe that in the next four years Slovenia can truly and finally be incorporated in the system of trade and financial relations in the developed world, and that Slovenia can in all aspects finally be returned to where it belongs, which is the developed part of Europe.

A detailed presentation of every part of the program would excessively burden my speech and the debate today. Therefore, I distributed a paper beforehand containing the main points. This document is primarily intended to promote discussion about the program, the formation of the government, and the proposal of ministers. The numbers and instruments quoted in it are a result of conclusions and analyses which will, of course, be supplemented and discussed in the new government and the State Chamber. Therefore, this document represents a sort of letter of intentions, and I believe that it is

not necessary for the State Chamber to take a formal stand toward it today. Thank you for your attention.

Comments on Parliament's Vote

AU1201192493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in
Slovene 1800 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek by correspondent Bojan Veselinovic in Ljubljana—live]

[Text] [Veselinovic] We are live now. I have new Prime Minister Drnovsek here with me. First of all, what do you think about the vote—48 favorable votes out of the 78 cast?

[Drnovsek] Well, I believe that this is enough votes for me to be elected, and that is what matters. Some people might have expected more votes. This is a result of me standing for election without signing a coalition or any other agreement with any party beforehand, therefore running some risk. If one bears this in mind, I think that this outcome of the vote is a success. I believe that my position is stronger now that I survived the vote without having to yield to the pressures of some parties that tried to trade their votes for my assurances about what these parties will get in the government.

[Veselinovic] These 48 votes, however, nevertheless show that this was also a result of your engagement in party negotiations prior to the vote. There was a lot of talk about separate agreements with the United List and the Christian Democrats. What do you say about that?

[Drnovsek] Well, I can say that I am seriously negotiating with both parties and that we got rather far. We will resume negotiations tomorrow and perhaps find a formula for cooperation in the government which does not exclude the Social Democratic and Democratic Parties.

[Veselinovic] Is this the formula that I mentioned in my question, namely separate agreements between the Liberal Democrats and Christian Democrats, and the Liberal Democrats and the United List?

[Drnovsek] We might sign separate agreements with individual parties. This depends more on their demands or problems. Our party—the Liberal Democratic Party—can sign an agreement with any of these parties. This could be one agreement or separate agreements that would probably differ in form and content. We will try to form a stable and powerful government and all past and future negotiations will be subordinated to this.

[Veselinovic] The rules of procedure bind you to form the government and propose a list of ministers within the next 15 days. Will you do this by the deadline, or perhaps earlier?

[Drnovsek] Earlier, I believe substantially earlier. Very soon after Friday [15 January], I think, when the State Council will endorse the law on government.

[Veselinovic] Friday is, therefore, a new deadline?

[Drnovsek] It is the first possible deadline which I will try to comply with as much as possible, since we need a government and I believe we should not delay it any longer.

[Veselinovic] This was Dr. Janez Drnovsek. Thank you for the interview.

[Drnovsek] Thank you.

Economic Relations With Croatia Improving

93BA0443B Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 25 Dec 92
p 3

[Article by Alenka Brezovnik: "A Turnabout in Economic Relations With Croatia"]

[Text] *An agreement on barter transactions in the near future; the Croats want a duty-free zone; only our enterprises that have a 51-percent share of Croatian capital are legally safe.*

Ljubljana, 15 Dec—Relations with Croatia have recently been improving to some extent, at least in the economy, Minister of Trade Davor Valentincic emphasized yesterday at a press conference. On Friday [11 December], in fact, he and his colleagues met with Croatian Minister of Trade Branko Miksa, and they discussed trade and the legal safety of our enterprises in Croatia.

Whereas trade between our countries amounted to about \$80-100 million from April to June, after the introduction of customs duties it declined to \$60-50 million in recent months. Because of the war, the over 30-percent monthly inflation, and the large number of refugees Croatia cannot be expected to give up that part of its budget, and our side also does not intend to eliminate duties unilaterally. Both countries are still closely linked economically, even at the expense of naturally determined trade flows. During the first 10 months of this year, for example, Slovenia exported \$15 million in milk

and milk products to Croatia, and imported an approximately equal amount of artificial fertilizers from Croatia. Croatia is also of interest to us for imports of lumber, corn, pork, etc., and in addition to milk, our country exports large amounts of juices, mineral water, etc. there. Because of difficulties with payments (the Croatian side assures us that there are no deliberate delays) and the increasingly greater difference between the value of the Croatian dinar and the tolar, the ministers decided that each of them, on his own side, would call together the partners, and in 14 days they intend (regardless of the elections) to meet again and prepare an agreement on barter transactions. They are also to eliminate inefficiencies in imports and exports, since some transactions between the two countries take place through other countries. As Valentincic pointed out, Croatia, for example, restricted exports of lumber through quotas, but is offering artificial fertilizers to domestic producers at a substantially lower price, as a result of which fertilizer is crossing the border illegally. With a regular supply, this "smuggling" could be limited.

With respect to the complaints by Slovene trade organizations that they are being "thrown out" of rented office spaces in Croatia (as a result of which Valentincic was also asked to intervene with the Croatian ministry), the ministers were unable to reach an agreement. The law on transforming enterprises has been passed and everyone is obliged to adhere to it, even though our enterprises have not yet finally reorganized. The Croatian law consequently specifies that only enterprises in which there is a 51-percent share of Croatian capital can be in rented spaces.

During the talks Branko Miksa, on behalf of the ministry, expressed a desire to have the two countries gradually shift to a duty-free zone. As Valentincic said, the Croatian minister did not explain this desire. For the time being it is not yet realistic, but it means a reorientation in their way of thinking.

Federal

Cosic Comments on 'Difficult' Talks in Geneva

LD1301035393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0207
GMT 13 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic said on Tuesday [12 January] evening, upon his return to Belgrade from the talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina in Geneva, that there were grounds for hope but also for concern.

Cosic said that the talks on the constitutional principles of the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina had been extremely difficult. "Today I wrote my most painful and responsible page," said Cosic (who is a well-known author), adding that "circumstances have forced me to disagree with my brothers in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [no closing quotation as received]

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Tuesday morning rejected the proposed constitutional principles but later accepted them in principle provided that they are verified by the parliament of the Serb Republic. Karadzic gave his approval at the insistence of Cosic and Presidents Milosevic of Serbia and Bulatovic of Montenegro, who were in favour of the proposed principles for the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Cosic admitted that there were features of the constitutional principles which did not meet all the goals of the liberation struggle of the Bosnian Serbs. "With all understanding for the doubts and fears of our brothers (Serbs) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we were compelled to disagree with them having in mind the interests of the whole Yugoslavia, its republics Serbia and Montenegro and the entire Serb nation," Cosic said.

Cosic said that there was no disagreement over the goals or misunderstanding or lack of support for the liberation struggle of the Bosnian Serbs, but only disagreement over tactics in the struggle for the achievement of democratic and human rights of Bosnian Serbs.

Cosic said that the Yugoslav delegation had given its approval to the proposed constitutional principles because they provided for the realization of basic aims of the Bosnian Serbs. "Happily, the Bosnian Serb delegation accepted my advice and that of Milosevic and Bulatovic, and agreed with the fundamentals of the constitutional principles," Cosic said.

Cosic said he hoped the talks would be continued after a break of at least a week's time to allow the Bosnian Serb parliament to debate the proposed constitutional principles. He added that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would continue helping its brothers in Bosnia to accomplish their liberation goals, which means above everything else restoring peace, and then realizing their fundamental human and national rights, always based on

principles of justice and respect for the equality of other peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I want to assure the Yugoslav public that it has a right to hope for success—that we shall achieve peace and that it will not experience the evils the world is threatening it with," Cosic said at Belgrade airport.

In a conversation with reporters the Yugoslav president remarked that the Moslem side in Geneva had throughout the day sought to politically undermine the documents being discussed, constantly launching gross accusations against the Serbs.

The Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina were attended by the political and military leaders of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—and the Yugoslav and Croatian delegations.

Ministry Details Numbers of Refugees

LD1201200293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—According to the latest figures released today by the Federal Ministry of Information, there are 624,035 refugees in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

According to the Ministry for Labor, Health and Social Welfare, most of the refugees—about 80 percent—are Serbs; 9 percent are Muslims; 3 percent are Montenegrins; 1 percent are Croats; and 7 percent are citizens of other nationalities. Most refugees come from Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ministry says.

SPO Members in Serb, Federal Assemblies Listed

LD1201164593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—The Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] today revealed the list of its deputies in the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly, which will represent the party within the single DEPOS list.

The following are on the list: Slobodan Rakitic; Pavle Nikolic; Miodrag-Miki Savicevic; Vladimir Gajic; Strahinja Kastratovic; Dr. Vojislav Nedeljkovic; Dr. Jovan Babic; Milan Komnenic; Dusan Curcin; Dr. Jovan Tomic; Zoran Cirkovic; Mihailo Markovic; Radenko Jokovic; Branislav Rakus; Dragoslav Milicic; Dr. Obren Joksimovic; Pavle Premovic; Dragoje Lukovic, and Radomir Uroševic.

The following will represent the SPO in the Serbian Assembly: Mladen Markov; Bogoljub Pejic; Miroslav Milutinovic; Dr. Vojislav Vukcevic; Nebojsa Atanackovic; Dr. Ivan Kovacevic; Milan Mikovic; Zorica Denda; Dusan Mudrinski; Dr. Vlatko Petric; Ilija Radulovic; Sinisa Tomic; Milenko Milovic; Zoran Horvan; Dr. Aleksandar Taskovic; Radomir Prvulovic; Dr. Vlatko Vukovic; Ivo Djukanovic; Dr. Veselin Pavicevic;

Milan Pejic; Slavoljub Filipovic; Dr. Predrag Mijailovic-Lune; Dr. Petar Simic, and Dr. Dragoljub Zivkovic.

The SPO also revealed the names of deputies of the New Democracy-Movement for Serbia [NDPS], which is also part of Depos. Miroslav Stefanovic is the NDPS deputy in the Federal Assembly, and Dusan Mihailovic, Nebojsa Lekovic, and Dr. Milan Jovanovic are the NDPS deputies in the Serbian Assembly.

Independent candidates within Depos will be represented in the Serbian Assembly by Borislav Mihailovic-Mihiz; Academician Ljubomir Simovic; Academician Branko Popovic; Academician Ivan Antic, and Academician Miroslav Gasic.

Firms Urged To Join 'Nonprofit Organization'

93BA0411A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 92 p 10

[Article by S. Bogdanovic: "A Movement Against Waste"]

[Text] One advertisement in yesterday's POLITIKA that undoubtedly drew quite a bit of attention is the one that appealed to all people of goodwill to join the Humane Reproduction Community—Advanced Science Eureka [HRZ-AS]. An important notice that appears immediately beneath the name of the "firm" is "nonprofit organization."

To what does this actually refer? The owners of the private export-import firm As Eureka decided to start a broad campaign to protect consumers, the indigent strata of the population, people who have suffered from the war and the difficult situation our country is in.

How do they intend to do that? On the one hand, they want to bring together people of goodwill, ordinary citizens, 500,000 of them, which is the minimum number required to begin the campaign, and on the other they want to enlist commercial firms, manufacturing organizations, and business firms in general. The individuals who have joined HRZ-AS will figure as a kind of public opinion, a voice of reason in this society, which will have an influence on firms and enterprises and on the entire society, alerting it to the number of hungry people, people unable to work, people who have experienced misfortune, and to start a campaign to provide concrete help to the broad stratum of individuals living on the poverty line. In enlisting firms as well, the HRZ-AS wants to influence them to be mindful of economies in the production process, in the packaging they use, and in the money they set aside for marketing.

According to Olga Jovanov, director of this private firm, the large amount of money which firms are setting aside for certain nonproduction activities (the production of fancy packaging, packaging and product design, the hiring of professional marketing agencies for promotional campaigns) ought to be used to make production

more efficient, to reduce the cost of the product and delivery, and thereby to diminish shortages and improve life.

"This aims to be a large-scale humanitarian movement against the spread of enmity between people, against war, and against those who see evil in differences," Olga Jovanov says. "We want to fight the horrible lines, to be a voice of reason, and to be where we are needed, because this nation is not living a normal life. This is only the beginning, and we have big projects for the future."

Mrs. Jovanov explained how the HRZ-AS will fight for a better quality of life with the following example:

"Why is it that in recent days milk from the PKB [Beograd Agroindustrial Combine] which was stamped and that with a completely blank container has been selling in the stores at the same price, why is it that the quality of which firms then boast is checked only once in several years, and the words 'wholesome,' 'pure,' and 'environmentally safe' are then used as arguments for years, why is it that firms throw away all kinds of money for marketing, why is it that the political parties talk in their election campaigns about economy, about business, about getting out of the crisis, but they do nothing specific? I am no longer willing to listen to that kind of nonsense," Olga Jovanov says.

The man in the street will naturally ask where the money comes from to finance this campaign, if only to get it started? When we asked her, she said that that was not so important, but that the beginning is being financed by the private firm already mentioned, "motivated by the most humane principles of human existence." Some firms have already agreed to join this drive: the food processing combine in Nis, Jugolek, Centroprom.

We were unable to learn specifically how this firm intends to "liquidate the usurious waste" and win the fight for a "painless denicotinization of the organism," because according to the subject of our interview, that is not so essential when such humane ideas are involved at the outset.

Olga Jovanov says that the firm has no ties with any organization in the world, nor was it formed by anyone's order on the outside, and the name Eureka, which recalls the much better known Eureka of Brussels, just like the figure of Einstein used in the advertisement, have not been abused, but everything has only a humanitarian aspect.

Probably neither representatives of the Honor Court nor the provisions of the Advertising Code would agree with that, nor would marketing professionals, because the campaign is directed specifically against the activity in which they engage. It remains unclear how an individual involved in the campaign will realize income and how this firm will finance "deliveries to your door" and "guarantee environmentally safe quality," because the subject of our interview said that this will be revealed in

good time. Most probably at that moment when the HRZ-AS manages to attract at least 500,000 members. "Incidentally," Mrs. Olga Jovanov said, "an advertisement must be a bit intriguing!"

Serbia

Opposition Party Warns of Country-Wide Purges

LD1201182993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—"We are angered by the fact that the winning party at the Serbian elections, personified in its executive committee member Milorad Vucelic, has declared an open war against its political opponents in Serbian Radio and TV, even before it has resumed power," the independent union of BORBA journalists stated today.

A statement of the executive board of the union of Serbian teachers also expresses indignation. "The so-called 'rationalization' plans are not being implemented on the basis of the quality of work of people on the lay-off lists, but they are used as a pretext to remove 'undesirable' people." The statement then adds "we are concerned that Mrs. Leskovar had to give Independent TV studio B her 'non-Serbian' surname as a reason for her dismissal."

"The expulsion of about 1,500 employees of Serbian Radio and TV will be just an introduction to country-wide persecutions unless people behind purges are stopped," says a statement of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] entitled "To End Fascism."

The SPO stresses in the statement that "lists of desirable and undesirable citizens have been compiled in all enterprises and institutions, and it is just a matter of time when these will be executed."

"These insane actions of the ruling party and its fascist, mafia-like branches, are pushing Serbia into tragic divisions and chaos with unforeseen consequences and into an even more difficult international position," the statement adds. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Ministry Delivers Protest Note to Greek Envoy

LD1101182193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Skopje, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Foreign Ministry today summoned (Elias Ilijadis), Greek consul general in Skopje. Deputy Minister Ljupco Arsovski delivered a note that, according to a statement by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, "expresses a protest at and seeks an explanation from the Greek authorities for an incident yesterday in which a Greek plane violated the air space of the Republic of Macedonia."

At the same time, it is said in the note, frequent violations of the republic's air space by Greek planes were resumed this year. This will in no way contribute to the efforts to establish good-neighborly relations and trust between the two states.

Macedonian authorities have informed representatives of the CSCE and the UN Armed Forces in Macedonia, as well as the governments of the EC member-states, about the latest violation of the republic's air space by Greek planes.

UN Commander on Deployment of Units

LD1101183393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Skopje, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—UN Commander for Macedonia Danish General Fin Siemari Tomsen said in Skopje on Monday [11 January] that the Canadian battalion and other units of the United Nations were deployed in the northern and western border region of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, where they are to observe the situation and report to the UN.

General Tomsen told a press conference that additional UN units from Scandinavian countries are expected to arrive in Macedonia in mid-February or early March, the latest.

The mandate of the UN forces for Macedonia, who arrived here on the request of Macedonia's President Kiro Gligorov, is one year.

An advance group of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members arrived in Macedonia on December 28, 1992.

Macedonia is the third of the six republics of the former Yugoslav federation where blue helmets [UNPROFOR troops] have been deployed. They are already deployed in the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Which seceded from Yugoslavia by force.

Macedonia seceded peacefully but has yet to be recognized as an independent state.

UN's Mazowiecki Talks with Serbs on Human Rights

LD1201215093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2026 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Skopje, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN special envoy for the human rights situation in former Yugoslavia, who has been in Macedonia since yesterday, had talks with representatives of the Serb people in Macedonia in the deputies' club in Skopje this evening.

Bozidar Despotovic, chairman of the Association of Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia, informed Mazowiecki about the situation in Serbian language education in the republic, noting that there is only one primary school with classes in Serbian in Skopje.

Although the Macedonian constitution guarantees primary and secondary education in the mother tongue, secondary education in Serbian was abolished as far back as 1986.

Participants in the discussion informed Mazowiecki about the new year's eve incident in the Serb village of Kuceviste near Skopje, stressing that this was done according to a well-prepared plan. According to him, the police action was conducted with the aim of "proving" to the Macedonian people and the UN Protection Force that Macedonia is threatened from the north, that is, from Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mazowiecki met representatives of other national minorities in Macedonia in the deputies' club in Skopje this evening.

Albanian Party Chief Briefs Vance, Owen

AU1201200493 Tirana ATA in English 1908 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 10 (ATA)—The Chairman of the Party of Democratic Prosperity Mr. Nevzat Halili informed the cochairs of the Geneva conference, Vance and Owen, and the Ambassador Arens on the activity of this party for the solution of the Albanian question of Macedonia. In this correspondence Mr. Halili stresses that on December 25, 1992 the deputies in the parliament of Macedonia presented a request to the chairman of this republic Kiro Gligorov to start the procedure for the changing of the Constitution of Macedonia. Gligorov was reminded also of the question related to the statement for equal status for the Albanians in Macedonia presented by the Albanian deputies on July 29, 1991. Mr. Halili stresses that all these demands are based on the documents of Hague and the meetings of the respective group of Macedonian Albanian party had with representatives of the international conference of former Yugoslavia and with those of the Government of Macedonia.

Kosovo

Rugova, U.S. Officials Discuss Kosovo Status

AU1201200693 Tirana ATA in English 1121 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 10 (ATA)—The President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova accompanied by Dr. Shaqir Shaqiri, secretary of the Presidency of the Democratic League of Kosovo for Foreign Relations, at the official invitation of the U.S. State Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger went to the U.S. State Department on January 7. The meeting of Dr. Rugova with Mr. Eagleburger was reported before but a few moments prior to the meeting. Mr. Eagleburger was not feeling well and Dr. Ibrahim Rugova talked with the deputy state secretary of the U.S. Department, Kienter. [as received]

The high ranking state delegation of Kosovo presented to the U.S. Administration the demands of the Albanians in order to avoid the conflict in Kosovo and that the solution of the problems and the status of Kosovo be solved according to the will of the people. During the talk, they mentioned the letter of Mr. Bush sent to the Serbian leadership through which he criticized it for the repression in Kosovo and the possible consequences they will have in case they will instigate the conflict in Kosovo as a contribution to the creation of conditions for the solution of the question of Kosovo. Mr. Rugova said that the observers' group of the U.S.A. in the context of the observing mission of the CSCE, will soon arrive in Kosovo. The U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Kienter told Rugova that in the next week realization of the decision of the U.S. Administration to send aid to Kosovo will begin.

During his stay in America, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova will have meetings with U.S. officials. It is expected that the president of the Republic of Kosovo will also meet with collaborators of the new U.S. President Bill Clinton.